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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀNAS VOL. I



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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀNAS



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VOL. I (SAURA AND VAISNAVA UPAPURĀŅAS)



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FOREWORD

The Government of West Bengal started the Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in 1951, and made arrangements for the publication of a half-yearly bulletin entitled "Our Heritage" embodying the contributions made by its members. Last year the Government decided to undertake the publication of a series of Texts and Studies. The present work, Studies in the Upapuranas, the first in the Studies Series, is from the pen of Dr. R. C. Hazra, Professor of Smrti and Purana at this College. The work is expected to consist of four more volumes of equal length, and will cover the entire Upapurana literature, about which very little was known to scholars. The value and importance of the Purana literature for the study of social, religious and even political history of ancient and mediaeval India have been widely felt and recognised by all Indologists. In the present volume, Dr. Hazra deals with the Saura and Vaisnava Upapurāņas examining fully the various problems connected with the individual texts, and also giving analysis of their contents. I have reasons to believe that this and the other volumes to be published subsequently will remove a long-felt want and bring out the manifold interest of an important but much neglected branch of Sanskrit literature.

GAURINATH SASTRI
General Editor.

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PREFACE

It is a long-standing, but erroneous, belief of wide popularity that the Upapurānas are 'later and inferior works' and scarcely deserve any serious attention. My chief object in the present work has been to point out to the scholarly world that the Upapuranas are rich as much in number as in content, that some of them are much earlier than many of the so-called Mahāpurāṇas, and that, like the extant Mahāpuranas, they are of capital importance not only for the study of the social and religious institutions of the Hindus from the pre-Gupta period downward but also for varied information of literary, historical, geographical and cultural interest. I have, therefore, taken pains to analyse briefly the contents of those Upapuranas which have been available to me either in printed forms or in mansucripts and to furnish as much useful and interesting information as possible on these points. I could not overlook the fact that it is by no means easy for many ardent and inquisitive students of ancient Indian history and culture to get access to the printed editions or manuscripts of the different Upapuranas, which are often very difficult to procure, or to go conveniently and profitably through these mostly extensive works written in Sanskrit. Feeling that without any idea of the period of origin and development of a work, especially of the Purana literature, it is neither possible nor safe to enter into a critical and scientific study of its contents, I have tried to determine the approximate dates of the individual Upapuranas, or parts thereof, by thoroughly utilising all such materials, including those contained in the works themselves, as have been found helpful in determining their relative and absolute chronology. I have also taken full notice of the references and quotations from these works in the Smrti commentaries, Nibandhas, etc. But in the case of those Upapuranas which have been drawn upon profusely by the comparatively early Nibandha-writers, the quotations made from them in the later Nibandhas have generally been overlooked. Those references and quotations, however, which I have been able to trace in the respective Upapuranas, will be enlisted in Appendix I at the end of the final volume. As regards the lost Upapurāņas,

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I have tried to give as much information as possible about their contents, dates and provenance, on the basis of the references and quotations contained in the Nibandhas and other works, Sanskrit or otherwise. I should mention in this connection that in examining the different Upapurāṇas I have found some (viz., Devī-purāṇa, Kriyā-yogasāra, Kālikā-purāṇa, Mahābhāgavata, Dharma-purāṇa, Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa, etc.) which contain highly valuable materials for the reconstruction of the social and religious history of Eastern India, especially of Bengal and Kāmarūpa.

As the Purāṇa literature consists of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas as well as of the numerous Upapurāṇas, a complete idea of this vast literature is not possible without the study of both these classes of writings. My present work, therefore, has been devoted exclusively to the latter class of books, my previous one entitled 'Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs' being concerned with the Mahāpurāṇas only. I should point out here that in the present volume as well as in the others to be published subsequently I have collected materials which support my views, set forth in the second part of my Purāṇic Records, regarding the different stages in the development of the Hindu rites and customs.

In writing these volumes I have utilised the works of various modern authors in different connections, but I am specially indebted to the veteran scholar Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P.V. Kane, M.A., LL. M., D. Litt., whose monumental work, viz., History of Dharma-sāstra, has been a great source of inspiration to me and encouraged me to take up a vast subject for critical study. As regards the dates of the Smṛti works, I have followed Mm. Dr. Kane's conclusions almost invariably.

I feel much hesitation in treading upon a field which is almost untrodden, in writing upon a subject on which very little has been written; but I leave my work, which has extended over a number of years, to speak for itself. I venture, however, to claim that my efforts will add to the knowledge of the much neglected subject and bring out its many-sided importance. I have tried to confine myself, from direct reading, strictly to available facts and avoid vague or sweeping generalisations, always bearing in mind that the chains of historical

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research can never be forged without the links supplied by individual facts.

For reasons stated in the Preface to my Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs and for the sake of uniformity I have used, in a few cases, the Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta) editions of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, printed in Bengali characters, in preference to the more widely used Devanāgarī editions; but in doing so I have always taken particular care to give full references to, or add comparative notes on, the different editions of these works, so that scholars may not find any difficulty in tracing the references in the South Indian and other Devanāgarī editions.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the Board of Editors of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series for accepting the present work for publication and also to our principal Dr. Gaurinath Sastri for recommending it to the Board.

Certain portions of this work were published as isolated articles in different oriental journals. But I have spared no pains to improve considerably upon these published portions with fresh materials collected by more recent studies.

Calcutta March, 1958

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

ABBREVIATIONS

Adyar Library Cat. = A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library (Madras).

AnSS = Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).

ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

As. Soc. = Asiatic Society.

Aufrecht, Bod. Cat. = Theodor Aufrecht, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae.

Benares Sans. College Cat. = Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares.

Bhāg. = Bhāgavata-purāṇa.

Bhandarkar, Report = R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, and 1890-91.

Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc. = R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Saivism

and Minor Religious Systems.

Bhav. = Bhavisya-purāņa.

Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta).

Bnār. = Bṛhannāradīya-purāṇa.

Bod. Cat. - See 'Aufrecht, Bod. Cat'.

Bṛhaddh. = Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa.

B. S. = Bengali Samvat.

Bühler, Report = G. Bühler, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India.

Burnell, Classified Index = A. C. Burnell, A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore.

Bv = Brahmavaivarta-purāņa.

Cal. Sans. Coll. = Calcutta Sanskrit College (1, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta).

Cat. = Catalogue.

Chakravarti, Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat. = Chintaharan Chakravarti, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat (Calcutta).

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Chap., chaps. = Chapter, chapters.

Com. = Commentary.

Dacca Univ. = Dacca University.

Dbh = Devi-bhāgavata.

Ed. = Edition (or, Edited by, as the case may be).

Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue) = Julius Eggeling,
A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the
Library of the India Office (London).

Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.

Farquhar, Outline = J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India.

Fol., fols. = Folio, folios.

Gan. = Ganeśa-purāna.

Gd = Garuda-purāņa.

Hazra, Purānic Records = R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs.

Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar = Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar.

IHQ=Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.

Ind. Off. = India Office (London).

Ind. Off. Cat.—See 'Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat'.

JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Keith, Ind. Off. Cat. = A. B. Keith, Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London).

-kh. (as in Sṛṣṭi-kh., Bhūmi-kh., etc.) = -khaṇḍa.

Kūr. = Kūrma-purāņa.

Lg = Linga-purāna.

List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss = List of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi Manuscripts purchased by order of Government and deposited in the Sanskrit College, Benares, during 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900 and 1901.

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Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature = A. A. Macdodell, A History of Sanskrit Literature.

Mārk. = Mārkandeya-purāna.

Mat. = Matsya-purāņa.

Mbh = Mahābhārata.

Mitra, Bikaner Cat. = R. L. Mitra, A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manus cripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bikaner.

Mitra, Notices = R. L. Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit Mss.

M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat.=M. Rangacharya, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Ms, Mss = Manuscript, Manuscripts.

Nar. = Narasimha-purāņa.

P., pp. = Page, pages.

-р. (as in Matsya-р., Kūrma-р. etc.) = -purāṇa.

Poleman, Census of Indic Mss = H. I. Poleman, A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.

P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat. = P. P. S. Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore.

Pd = Padma-purāņa.

Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat. = Hrishikeśa Shastri and Sivacandra Gui, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat. = S. Kuppuswami Sastri and P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Shastri, ASB Cat. = Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

Shastri, Nepal Cat. = Haraprasad Shastri, A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal.

Shastri, Notices = Haraprasad Shastri, Notices of Sanskrit Mss, Second

Series.

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Siv. = Siva-purāna.

Sk = Skanda-purāņa.

Stein, Jammu Cat. = M. A. Stein, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunātha Temple Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Univ. = University.

Vanga. = Vangavāsī Press (Calcutta).

Var. = Varāha-purāņa.

Venkat. = Venkateśvara Press (Bombay).

Vis. = Visnu-purāna.

Visnudh. = Visnudharmottara.

Weber, Berlin Cat. = A. Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prakrit-Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.

Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853 = A. Weber, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek, Vol. I (Verzeichniss der Sanskrit Handschriften). Berlin, 1853.

Winternitz, Cat. of South Indian Sans. Mss=M. Winternitz, A
Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts (especially
those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic
Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀNAS

CHAPTER I

THE UPAPURĀŅA LITERATURE—ITS EXTENT, ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN

In these days when all Indologists are feeling the want of a true history of Indian life and thought of the past and our able antiquarians are directing their attention and energy towards its reconstruction, it is a matter of great surprise and disappointment that very little is known and still less has yet been said about those valuable records of Indian life and thought which are known as Upapurāṇas (or secondary Purāṇas¹). The whole responsibility for such apathy of scholars towards these valued treasures must be laid on the high importance

I The work done by scholars on the Upapurānas is very meagre and scarcely deserves any serious mention. H. H. Wilson, who, in his Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological, and in the Preface to his translation of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, says much on the Purāṇas, devotes only about five pages to the Upapurāņas (see Wilson, Vishņu Purāṇa, Preface, pp. lxxxvi-xci); Haraprasad Shastri's treatment of some of the Upapurāņas in the Preface (pp. cc-ccxv) to his Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V (Purāṇa Manuscripts), is no better than mere cataloguing; M. Winternitz devotes on the whole about seven pages to the treatment of only a very few of the Upapuranas in his History of Indian Literature, Vol. I; J. N. Farquhar gives, in his Outline of the Religious Literature of India, very short and scrappy information about a few Upapurāņas only; the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I spares only about half a page for the treatment of these works; the Bengali encyclopaedia Viśvakosa, which devotes as many as 165 pages to the principal Puranas, deals with the Upapurāņas in 3 columns only (see Viśvakosa, Vol. II, pp. 419-420); A. A. Macdonell finishes his treatment of the Upapuranas in four lines only, without mentioning even a single name (see Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 302); and the Encyclopâedia of Religion and Ethics (Vol. X, p. 455) has fourteen lines devoted to the Upapuranas. Besides these there are the Notices and the Catalogues of Sanskrit Mss, especially those of R. L. Mitra, J. Eggeling and Th. Aufrecht, as well as about a dozen isolated articles (except those of the present writer) on only a few of the Upapuranas. This is practically the whole work that has been done on the Upapuranas up to the present time.

which has been attached, deservedly or undeservedly, for hundreds of years to the eighteen 'great' (Mahat) Purāṇas² as well as on the disparaging prefix 'upa' attached to the common title (Purāṇa) to characterise those Purāṇic works which are different from the 'great eighteen'. Whatever the reason may be, we should not, with our critical outlook befitting the present age and its culture, be swayed by mere tradition and baseless impression but be ready to give due consideration to this long neglected branch of Sanskrit literature.

Following the tradition of the Mahāpurāṇas, orthodox opinion tries to limit the number of the Upapurāṇas rigidly to 'eighteen's even in those cases where the promulgators of such opinion are fully conscious of the existence of a larger number; but while in the enumerations

- 2 Though the name 'Mahāpurāṇa' for the 'eighteen' principal 'Purāṇas' is of very late origin, being found only in Bhāg. XII. 7. 10 and 22 and Bv IV. 131. 7 and 10, it has now become very popular and is universally used for the older name 'Purāṇa'.
- 3 See Pd, Pātāla-khaṇḍa 111. 94b-98; Kūr, I. 1. 16-20; Sk V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 1. 46-52; Sk VII. i. 2. 11-15; Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) 1. 13b-18 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378); Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382); Revā-māhātmya (which claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p. and is very much the same as the Revā-khaṇḍa occurring in Sk V; see Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65, Nos. 114-116); Dbh I. 3. 13-16; Gḍ I. 223. 17-20 (=Jīvānanda's edition I. 215. 17-20 = Vaṅgavāsī edition I. 27. 17-20); Bṛhaddh. I. 25. 18-19 and 23-26; Parāśara-upapurāṇa 1. 28-31 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230); Gaṇ. I. 1. 8; Bhāg. XII. 7. 22; Bv IV. 131. 22; Ekāmra-p. 1. 20b-23; Vindhya-māhātmya, chap. 4 (ASB Ms No. 8091, fol. 8a); Vāruṇopapurāṇa, chap. 1 (Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat., XXVII, p. 10331); Bhakti-ratnākara of Gopāla-dāsa (Mitra, Notices, IX, No. 2918, p. 32).

For the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas contained in verses quoted from the 'Kūrma-p', 'Brahmavaivarta-p.' etc., also see Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 19, Smṛtitattva, I, pp. 792-3, Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 13-15, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I (Dāna-khaṇḍa), pp. 532-3 and II (Vrata-khaṇḍa). i, p. 21, and Prasthāna-bheda, p. 10.

Mat. 53. 59-62 mention only four Upapurāņas, viz., Nārasimha, Nandīpurāṇa, Sāmba and Āditya, and seem to be ignorant of the group of 'eighteen'.

4 For example, after expressly mentioning that the Upapurāṇas are

of the Purāṇas there is almost complete agreement with regard to the titles,⁵ this is by no means the case with the titles of the Upapurāṇas. In order to acquaint ourselves with the nature of the disagreement we give below a number of lists of 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas which we have been able to collect from different sources.

'eighteen' in number and then giving the titles of the 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas, the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25. 27) says:

anyāś ca samhitāh sarvā mārīca-kāpilādayah/

sarvatra dharma-kathane tulya-sāmarthyam ucyate//,

thus intimating its knowledge not only of the Mārīca and Kāpila Upapurāṇas but also of others which were considered as much authoritative as the famous 'eighteen'. (Note the word 'ādayaḥ' in 'mārīca-kāpilādayah').

5 In some of the lists of 'eighteen' principal Purāṇas the title 'Siva' or 'Saiva' is found in place of 'Vāyavīya'. See, for instance, Viṣ. III. 6. 21ff., Bhāg. XII. 7. 23ff. and XII. 13, 4ff., Kūr. I. 1. 13ff., Pd I. 62. 2ff., IV. 111. 90ff., VI. 219. 25ff., and VI. 263. 77ff., Var. 112. 69ff., Mārk. 137. 8ff., (=Venkaṭ. edition 134. 8ff.), Lg I. 39. 61ff., Siv. V (Vāyavīya-saṃhitā). i. 1. 38ff., Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) 1. 7-10 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1377), Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382), Saṃbhava-kāṇḍa of the Siva-rahasya-khaṇḍa of the Saṃkara-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1363), and so on.

Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 319, 4196 and 4649) of the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25) give the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas thus: Brahma-p., Pādma, Brahmāṇḍa, Vaiṣṇava, Brahmavaivarta, Mahābhāgavata, Bhaviṣya, Gāruḍa, Laiṅga, Saiva, Vārāha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Skānda, Kaurma, Matsya-p., Āgneya, Vāyavya and Śrībhāgavata. (It is to be noted that this list omits the Vāmana and the Nāradīya and names the Mahābhāgavata and the Śaiva in their stead).

The ASB edition of the Brhaddharma-p. (I. 25. 20-22) mentions the Mahābhāgavata but omits the name of the Śrībhāgavata, the number of Purāṇas named in it being thus seventeen. But the Vanga. edition, which mentions the Śrībhāgavata, wrongly replaces the Mahābhāgavata by the 'Nṛṣiṃha', which is reckoned again in a subsequent verse as one of the eighteen Upapurāṇas.

In the verses of a 'Kālikā-p'. quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 531, the 'Saiva', Kālikā (for Bhāgavata), Saura and Vahnija (i.e. the genuine Āgneya-p. passing under the title 'Vahni-purāṇa') are included among the eighteen principal Purāṇas.

I. Kūrma-p. I. 1. 17-20-

- 1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Skānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Sivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya?);
- 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Vāmana; 9. Uśanaserita;
- 10. Brahmānda; 11. Vāruņa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara;
- 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life;
- 16. Parāśarokta; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.6
- II. Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, p. 19) of Narasimha Vājapeyin (who gives the following list of 'eighteen' Upapurānas on the authority of the 'Kūrma-p.')—
 - Sanatkumārīya;
 Nārasimha;
 Nandīpurāņa;
 Nāradīya;
 Kāpila;
 - 8. Vāmana; 9. Ausanasa; 10. Brahmānda; 11. Vāruņa;
 - 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura;
 - 16. Parāśarokta; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.
- III. 'Kaurma' (i. e. Kūrma-p.) quoted in Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva⁷—
 - 1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha;
 - 3. Vāyavīya, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Sivadharma,
 - ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham atah param/
 tṛtīyam skāndam uddiṣṭam kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam//
 caturtham śivadharmākhyam sākṣān-nandīśa-bhāṣitam/
 durvāsasoktam āścaryam nāradīyam atah param//
 kāpilam vāmanam caiva tathaivośanaseritam/
 brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam caiva kālikāhvayam eva ca//
 māheśvaram tathā sāmbam sauram sarvārtha-saṃcayam/
 parāśaroktam mārīcam tathaiva bhārgavāhvayam//
 (Kūr, I, 1, 17-20).

These verses occur in the Venkat. and ASB editions of the Kūrma-p. without any difference in readings, but in the former edition there is the alternative reading 'aparam mārīcam' for 'mārīcam tathaiva' in the last line.

7 See Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3—
kaurme—anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api/
tāni ca narasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīni, yathā—
ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ tataḥ param/ etc.

declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradīya; 7-8. Nandikeśvara-yugma; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Kāpila; 11. Vāruņa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Daiva, which yields success in all the ends of life; 16. Another (work) spoken out by Parāśara⁸; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhāskara.

IV. 'Kaurma Mahāpurāṇa' (i.e. Kūrma-p.) quoted in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 13-14—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Sivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta (called Aścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmānda; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Another (work) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktam aparam); 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

V. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 532-3—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra (v. l. 'nāradam' for 'nāndam'); 4. Sivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsa-sokta (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāra-

Raghunandana reads 'daivam sarvārtha-siddhidam' and 'parāśaroktam aparam' for 'sauram sarvārtha-saṃcayam' and 'parāśaroktam mārīcam' respectively of the Kūrma-p. (for which see the immediately preceding foot-note).

The verses of the Kūrma-p., as given in the Vanga. edition (pp. 264-5) and Candicarana Smṛtibhūṣaṇa's edition (pp. 212-3) of the Malamāsa-tattva, reads 'śāmbaṃ' for 'cātha' (in the line 'kāpilaṃ vāruṇaṃ cātha'), and 'pādmaṃ' for 'śāmbaṃ' (in the line 'māheśvaraṃ tathā śāmbaṃ etc'.). As these readings make the number of the Upapurāṇas nineteen, they should be rejected.

8 Thus the Parāśara-upapurāṇa seems to be distinguished from the Viṣṇup. or the spurious 'Vaiṣṇava' (mentioned by Vallālasena in his Dānasāgara, p. 7, verse 63), which was spoken out by Parāśara. dokta; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. The highly excellent (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktaṃ pravaram); 17-18. Bhāgavata-dvaya (bhāgavataṃ dvayam).

- VI. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21—
 - 1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Sivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person (v.l. 'nandikeśvara-yugmam' for 'śivadharmākhyam'); 5. Durvāsasokta (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6 Nāradokta; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava (v.l. 'mārīcam' for 'mānavam'); 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. The foremost (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśroktam prathamam); 17-18. Bhāgavata-dvaya.
- VII. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in the Sabda-kalpadruma (under 'Upapurāṇa')⁹—
 - 1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Vāyavīya, spoken out by Kumāra (kumāreṇānubhāṣitam);
 - 4. Sivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvās-asokta (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradīya; 7. Nandikeśvara-yugma; 8. Uśanaserita; 9. Kāpila; 10. Vāruṇa; 11. Śāmba; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Pādma; 15. Daiva, which accomplishes all the ends of life (daivaṃ
- 9 It is to be noted that although the verses of the Kūrma-p. quoted in the Sabda-kalpadruma agree almost literally with the verses of the 'Kaurma' quoted in the Vanga. ed. (pp. 264-5) and Candīcarana Smṛtibhūṣaṇa's ed. (pp. 212-3) of the Malamāsa-tattva of Raghunandana, the mention of the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' and the 'Pādma' (occupying the seventh and the fourteenth place respectively in the list) makes the number of the Upapurāṇas nineteen. If the two Nandikeśvara-purāṇas are taken to form one Upapurāṇa, then, of course, the number becomes eighteen.

sarvārtha-sādhakam); 16. Another (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktam aparam); 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhāskara.

VIII. Saura-samhitā of the Skanda-purāņa—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Skānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Sivadharma, declared by Nandin; 5. Durvāsa-samprokta; 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. The sacred Brahmānḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālī-purāṇa, also called Kālakaṇṭha; 13. Vāsiṣṭha-liṅga, also called Māheśvara; 14. Sāmbapurāṇa, also called Susūkṣma; 15. Saura-purāṇa, also called Sāvitra; 16. Pārāśarya; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.¹⁰

IX. Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-khanda). 1. 46-5211-

1. Saura, a Saiva work consisting of two Samhitās spoken out respectively by Sanatkumāra and Sūrya and being widely known under the name of Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha, belonging to the Padma-p.; 3. Saukeya, belonging to the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa; 4. Bārhaspatya, belonging to the Vāyavya (Purāṇa); 5. Daurvāsasa, belonging to the Bhāgavata; 6. Nāradokta, belonging to the Bhaviṣya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Pārāśara; 17. Bhāgavata; 18. Kaurma.

tṛtiyaṃ skāndam uddiṣṭaṃ kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam//
caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyaṃ purāṇaṃ nandineritam/
tato durvāṣa-saṃproktaṃ nāradīyaṃ tataḥ param//
kāpilaṃ mānavaṃ caiva tathaivośanaseritam/
brahmāṇḍaṃ ca tataḥ puṇyaṃ vāruṇākhyaṃ tataḥ param//
tataḥ kālīpurāṇākhyaṃ kālakaṇṭhaṃ ca nāmataḥ/
tato vāsiṣṭhaliṅgākhyaṃ nāmnā māheśvaraṃ tv iti//
tataḥ ṣāmbapurāṇākhyaṃ susūkṣmam iti ceritam/
tataḥ saurapurāṇākhyaṃ sāvitram iti ceritam//
pārāśaryaṃ ca mārīcaṃ bhārgavaṃ muni-puṃgavāḥ//
Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382.

11 These verses, as given in the Vanga, ed. of the Skanda-p., have no variation in readings.

X. Revā-māhātmya which, though much the same as the Revā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p., claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p.—

1. Saura, which forms an excellent supplement (khila) to the Brahma-p., deals with topics on Siva, consists of two Saṃhitās spoken out respectively by Sanatkumāra and Sūrya, and is widely known under the name of Sanatkumāra also; 2. Nārasiṃha, belonging to the Padma-p.; 3. Nandā-purāṇa, belonging to the 'Vaiṣṇava'; 4. Sivadharma, belonging to the Vāyu-p.; 5. Daurvāsasa, belonging to the Bhāgavata; 6. Nāradokta, belonging to the Bhaviṣya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. Pārāśara; 17. Bhāgavata; 18. Kaurma¹².

XI. Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-khanda) i. 2. 11-1513-

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Skānda (v.l. 'nāndam' both in the Vanga. and Venkat. editions. of the Skanda-p.), spoken out by Kumāra (kumārenānubhāṣitam); 3. Sivadharma, declared by Nandīśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya? — durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradokta; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmānda; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Another Kālikā (anyat kālikā-

idam brahmapurānasya khilam sauram anuttamam/
samhitā-dvaya-samyuktam punyam śiva-kathāśrayam//
ādyā sanatkumāroktā dvitīyā sūrya-bhāṣitā/
sanatkumāra-nāmnā 'pi tad vikhyātam mahāmune//
dvitīyam nārasimham ca purāne padma-samjnīte/
nandāpurānam ca tathā tṛtīyam vaiṣṇave matam//
caturtham śivadharmākhyam purāne vāyu-samjnīte/
daurvāsasam pancamam ca smṛtam bhāgavate sadā//
bhaviṣye nāradoktam ca sūribhih kath(itam) purā/
kāpilam mānavam caiva tathaivośanaseritam//
brahmānḍam vātuṇam cātha kālikāhvayam eva ca/
māheśvaram tathā sāmbam sauram sarvārtḥa-saṃcayam//
pārāśaram bhāgavatam kaurma(m) cāṣṭādaśam kramāt//
Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65.

13 These verses, as occurring in the Vanga. ed. of the Skanda-p., have no difference in readings.

hvayam); 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. The excellent (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktaṃ paramam); 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

- XII. Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.)
 1. 13b-18¹⁴—
 - 1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra (sanatkumāreņa proktam);
 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nānda; 4. Sivadharma; 5. Daurvāsa; 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8. Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. The eminent (viśiṣṭam) Kālīpurāṇa; 13. Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga, also called Māheśvara; 14. Sāmbapurāṇa; 15. Saura, an extremely wonderful work (sauraṃ mahādbhutam); 16. Pārāśara; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava, that accomplishes Dharma and Artha in their entirety (sarva-dharmārtha-sādhakam).
- XIII. Garuda-p. I. 223. 17-2015-
 - 1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Skānda, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Sivadharma, declared by Nandīśvara (nandīśvara-bhāṣitam); 5. Durvāsasokta, (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāradokta; 7. Kāpila; 8. Vāmana; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12. Kālikā; 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; [15. Saura]; 16. Another (Putāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśaroktam aparam); 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

14 For these verses see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378 (v. l. 'vāsiṣṭha-liṅgākhyam' for 'vāsiṣṭha-laiṅgākhyam' in verse 17a).

15 For these verses see also Jīvānanda's ed. I. 215. 17-20 and Vanga. ed. I. 227. 17-20.

Note that with the reading 'evam sarvārtha-samcayam' (in verse 20a-māheśvaram tathā sāmbam evam sarvārtha-samcayam) the number of the Upapurānas becomes seventeen, and not eighteen. So, we should read 'sauram sarvārtha-samcayam' for 'evam sarvārtha-samcayam'. For the reading 'sauram sarvārtha-samcayam' see Kūr. I. 1. 20a, Sk V. iii (Revā-khanda). 1. 51b and VII. i. 2. 14a, and so on. See also the other lists mentioning the Saura-p.

XIV. Padma-p., Pātāla-khanda, 111. 94b-98-

1. Ādya, named Sanatkumāra (ādyam sanatkumārākhyam);
2. Nārasimha; 3. Ānḍa (Skānda?); 4. Durvāsasa (? Daurvāsasa); 5. Another Nāradīya (nāradīyam athānyam ca, v. l. athānyac ca); 6. Kāpila; 7. Mānava; 8. Auśanasa-prokta;
9. Another Brahmānḍa (brahmānḍam ca tathāparam);
10. Vāruṇa; 11. Kālikā; 12. Māheśa; 13. Sāmba; 14. Saura;
15. Pārāśara; 16. Mārīca; 17. Bhārgava; 18. Kaumāra.

XV. Devi-bhāgavata I. 3. 13-16-

1. Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nāradīya; 4. Siva; 5. The excellent (anuttamam) Daurvāsasa; 6. Kāpila; 7. Mānava; 8. Auśanasa; 9. Vāruņa; 10. Kālikā; 11. Sāmba; 12. Nandi-kṛta; 13. Saura; 14. Parāśara-prokta; 15. The highly extensive (ativistaram) Āditya; 16. Māheśvara; 17. Bhāgavata; 18. The extensive (savistaram) Vāsiṣṭha.

XVI. Bṛhaddharma-p. I. 25. 23-26—

1. Ādipurāṇa; 2. Āditya; 3. Bṛhannāradīya; 4. Nāradīya; 5. Nandīśvara-purāṇa; 16. Bṛhannandīśvara; 7. Śāmba; 8. Kriyāyogasāra; 9. Kālikā; 19. Dharmapurāṇa; 11. Viṣṇudharmottara; 12. Śivadharma; 13. Viṣṇudharma; 14. Vāmana; 15. Vāruṇa; 16. Nārasiṃha; 17. Bhārgava; 18. The excellent (uttamam) Bṛhaddharma.

XVII. Parāśara-upapurāņa 1. 28-31 —

Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra;
 Nārasimha;
 Nānda;
 Šivadharma;
 Daurvāsa;
 Nāradīyaka;
 Kāpila;
 Mānava;
 Uśanaserita;
 Brahmānḍa;
 Vāruṇa;

16 This Upapurāṇa, which occupies the fifth place, is named as 'Nandikeś-vara-purāṇa' (and not as 'Nandiśvara-purāṇa') in the ASB ed. (I. 25. 24) as well as in the Dacca University Ms No. 4199 (fol. 71b) and Ind. Off. Ms No. 1313a (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1226-29, No. 3402) of the Bṛhaddharma-p.; but in the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 319 (fol. 44a) and 4649 (fol. 96a), it is mentioned as 'Nandikeśvara-purāṇa'.

- 12. Kālīpurāņa; 13. Vāsistha-lainga; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura; 16. Parāsara; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.¹⁷
- XVIII. Vindhya-māhātmya (claiming to belong to the Bṛhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa), chap. 4—
 - 1. Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nāradīya; 4. Siva; 5. The excellent (anuttamam) Daurvāsasa; 6. Kāpila; 7. The holy (puṇyam) Mānava; 8. Auśanasa; 9. Vāruṇa; 10. Kālikākhya; 11. Sāmba; 12. The auspicious (work) compiled by Nandī (nandī-kṛtaṃ śubham); 13. Saura; 14. Pārāśara; 15. The highly extensive (ativistaram) Āditya; 16. Māheśvara; 17. Bhārgavākhya; 18. The extensive (savistaram) Vāśiṣṭha. 18
- XIX. 'Brahmavaivarta' quoted in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14—
 - 1. Ādya (called) Sanatkumāra (ādyam sanatkumaram);
 - 2. Nāradīya; 3. Nārasimha; 4. Saivadharma; 5. Daurvāsa;
 - adyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham tatah param/
 nāndākhyam śivadharmākhyam daurvāsam nāradīyakam//
 kāpilam mānavam caiva tathaivośanaseritam/
 brahmāndam vārunam kālīpurānākhyam tathaiva ca//
 vāsiṣṭhalainga-samjam ca sāmbam sauram tathaiva ca/
 parāśara-samākhyam ca mārīcam bhārgavāhvayam//

ASB Ms No. 8205, fol. 2b (Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 4098). See also Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 4097 (Ms No. 308), p. 762; Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230 (v.l. 'tathā cośanaseritam' for 'tathaivośanaseritam' in line 3, and 'vāsiṣṭhaṃ laiṅga-saṃjñam' for 'vāsiṣṭhalaiṅga-saṃjñam' in line 5); and Ms No. 38 in the Calcutta Government Sanskrit College (v.l. 'vāsiṣṭhaṃ laiṅga-saṃjñam' in line 5).

The above verses of the Parāśara-upapurāņa have been quoted as from 'Parāśara-purāṇa' in Tryambaka Oka's Ācāra-bhūṣaṇa, p. 318 (v.l. 'nandākhyam' in line 2).

sanatkumāra(m) prathamam nārasimham tatah param/
nāradīyam śivam caiva durgāsasanam (? daurvāsasam) anuttamam//
kāpilam mānavam puņyam tathā cauśanasa(m) smṛtam/
vāruṇam kālikākhyam ca sāmbam nandīkṛtam śubham//
sauram pārāśaram proktam ādityam cātivistaram/
māheśvaram bhārgavākhyam vāśiṣṭham ca savistaram//

ASB Ms No. 8091, fol. 8a (Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 745-6, No. 4086). See also Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 746-7, No. 4087 (Ms No. 538).

- 6. Kāpileya; 7. Mānava; 8. Saukra; 9. Vāruņa; 10. Brahmānda; 11. Kālīpurāņa; 12. Vāsiṣṭha-lainga; 13. Māheśa; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura; 16. Pārāśarya; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava, which sets on foot all (kinds of) Dharma (sarva-dharma-pravartakam).
- XX. 'Brahmavaivarta' quoted in Gopāla-dāsa's Bhakti-ratnākara—
 1. Sānatkumāra; 2. Nānda; 3. Nārasimha; 4. Daurvāsasa;
 5. Saivadharma; 6. Kāpileya; 7. Mānava; 8. Saukra; 9. Vāruņa; 10. Vāsiṣṭha; 11. Sāmba; 12. Kālīpurāṇa; 13. Māheśa; 14. Pārāśara; 15. Bhārgava; 16. Mārīca; 17. Saura;
 18. Brahmānḍa.¹⁹
- XXI. Verses (on the Upapurāṇas) quoted anonymously in Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bheda, p. 10—

 1. Ādya (sanatkumāreṇa proktaṃ); 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Nānda;
 4. Sivadharma; 5. Daurvāsa; 6. Nāradīya; 7. Kāpila; 8.

 Mānava; 9. Uśanaserita; 10. Brahmāṇḍa; 11. Vāruṇa; 12.

 Kālīpurāṇa, declared by Vasiṣṭha (vāsiṣṭham)²0; 13. Vāsiṣṭhalaiṅga, also called Māheśvara; 14. Sāmbapurāṇa; 15. Saura, an extremely wonderful work (sauraṃ mahādbhutam); 16.

 Pārāśara; 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.
 - sānatkumāram nāndam ca nārasimham tathaiva ca/
 daurvāsasam śaivadharmam kápileyam ca mānavam//
 śaukram ca vāruņam caiva vāsiṣṭham sāmbam eva ca/
 kālīpurāṇam māheśam pārāśaram ca bhārgavam//
 mārīcam ca tathā sauram brahmānḍākhyam tathaiva ca/
 etāny upapurāṇāni nigadanti purāvidaḥ//
 (Mitra, Notices, IX, No. 2918, p. 32).

It should be mentioned here that these verses are quite different from those ascribed to the 'Brahmavaivarta' in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14.

20 The relevant line naming the 'Kālīpurāṇa' is "tataḥ kālīpurāṇākhyaṃ vāsiṣṭhaṃ muni-puṃgavāḥ," in which 'vāsiṣṭham' may be a wrong reading for 'viśiṣṭaṃ'. This latter reading ('viśiṣṭaṃ') is found to occur in the Śiva-māhāt-mya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) whose verses on the titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas agree with those quoted in the Prasthāna bheda,

XXII. Ekāmra-purāņa 1. 20b-23-

1. Bṛhannārasiṃha; 2. Bṛhadvaiṣṇava; 3. Gāruḍa;²¹ 4. Bṛhat Nāradīya; 5. Nāradīya;²² 6. Pṛabhāsaka; 7. Līlāvatīpurāṇa; 8. Devī; 9. Kālikā; 10. Ākheṭaka; 11. Bṛhannandi; 12. Nandikeśvara; 13. Ekāmra; 14. Ekapāda; 15. Laghu-bhāgavata; 16. Mṛṭyuñjaya; 17. Āṅgirasaka; 18. Sāmba.

XXIII. Vāruņopapurāņa, chap. 1 --

- 1. Ādya, spoken out by Kumāra (ādyam kumāra-kathitam);
- 2. Nṛsiṃha; 3. Nāradīyaka; 4. Vāsistha-lainga; 5. Mārīca;
- 6. Nandākhya; 7. Bhārgava; 8. Māheśvara; 9. Auśanasa; 10. Āditya; 11. Gaņeśaka; 12. Kāliya (Kālīya?); 13. Kāpila; 14. Durvāsa (Daurvāsasa?); 15. Sivadharmaka; 16. (The Upapurāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśareṇa

kathitam); 17. Sāmba; 18. Vāruņa.23

A glance over the above lists will show how greatly divergent the lists sometimes are. Though, as will be shown hereafter, the same Upapurāṇa is in some cases mentioned in different lists under different titles, the obove lists supply us with the titles of many more Upapurānas than eighteen.

Besides the Upapurāṇas mentioned in these lists, there were many others, of which some are available in printed forms, some still exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations,²⁴ and some must have been lost altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. In spite of the serious loss that has been

23 For the relevant verses see Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat., XXVII,

No. 15663, p. 10331.

²¹⁻²² The 'Gāruḍa' and the 'Nāradīya' have not been named in the list of Mahāpurāṇas given in the Ekāmra-p. (1. 18-20a). They have been replaced by the 'Saiva' and the 'Nārasiṃha,' which are really Upapurāṇas.

²⁴ From an examination of a large number of works, especially of the Sanskrit literature, we have been able to collect the names of more than one hundred Upapurāṇas including those mentioned in the above lists. Questions relating to the identification, date and contents of these Upapurāṇas will be dealt with as fully as possible in their respective cases,

brought upon the Upapurāṇa literature by the progress of time and the consequent changes in political administration as well as in the ideas, manners and customs of the people, the Upapurāṇic works are still rich in number and content.

Though it must be admitted that in this extensive Upapurana literature there are works which are of comparatively late dates, it is by no means wise to suppose that the whole literature cannot lay claim to an early beginning. The verses of the Kūrma-p., which contain the list of 'eighteen Upapuranas', are found quoted in Raghunandana's Smṛṭi-tattva (I, pp. 792-3), Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśā, pp. 13-14), and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (I, pp. 532-3 and II. i, p. 21). The titles, as occurring in this list, are also given as derived from the 'Kūrma-p.' in Narasimha Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 19. A list very similar to that of the Kūrma-p. is found in the Saura-samhitā of the Skanda-p.,25 in Sk VII. i. 2. 11-15, in the Siva-māhātmya-khanda of the Sūta-samhitā (which belongs to the Skanda-p, and of which all the four Khandas have been commented on by Mādhavācārya), in the Parāśara-upapurāṇa (1. 28-31),26 and in the Garuda-p. (I. 223. 17-20).27 his Dānasāgara Vallālasena refers to the lists of Upapurāņas occurring in the Kūrma and the Ādi-p.28 These and similar other evidences, which can be adduced from different sources, are perhaps sufficient to show that the date of formation of the group of 'eighteen' Upapuranas as found in the Kurma-p. should be placed not later than 850 A.D. The upper limit of this date seems to be supplied by Matsya-p., chap. 53, which, by its mention of only those four Upapurāņas (viz., Nārasimha, Nandī-p., Sāmba and Āditya) which were

²⁵ Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382.

²⁶ For these verses see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230. Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 762 (No. 4097).

²⁷ The extant Garuda-p. should be dated between 850 and 1000 A.D. and most probably in the tenth century. See Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, pp. 141-5.

^{28} tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ/ uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca//

'well-established in society',²⁹ betrays its knowledge of a few more Upapurāṇas and at the same time its ignorance of any group of 'eighteen'. The probable date of Matsya-p., chap. 53 being 550-650 A. D. and the verses (59-63), in which these four Upapurāṇas have been mentioned, appearing to be spurious but by no means very late additions,³⁰ the date of *formation* of the group should be placed approximately between 650 and 800 A. D.³¹

- 29 Cf. upābhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratiṣṭhitāḥ.- Mat. 53. 59a.
- 30 Mat. 59-63, which give the titles and contents of the Upapurāṇas, appear to be spurious for the following reasons:—
 - (i) Nothing is said about the gift of any of the Upapurāṇas, although the chapter is on dāna-dharma;
 - (ii) there is no mention of the Upapurāṇas in verses other than those mentioned above;
 - (iii) though in the verses following verse 63 the classification and contents of the Purāṇas and the titles and extents of the epics are given, there is not even a single word on the Upapurāṇas.

These verses are, however. not very late additions; for, Narasimha Vājapeyin, who quotes all these verses except 59a in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, refers to Lakṣmīdhara's explanation of verse 63 (aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛṭhak purāṇaṃ etc.) as meaning the Kālikā-p. etc. (see Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18). As a matter of fact, Lakṣmīdhara quotes Mat. 53. 59b-63 in his Kṛṭya-kalpataru, I (Brahmacāri-kāṇḍa), p. 30 and takes the expression 'tad etebhyo vinirgatam' of Mat. 53. 63 (aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛṭhak purāṇaṃ yat pṛadiśyate, etc.) to mean the Kālikā-p. etc. Caṇḍeśvara and Hemādri also quote verses 59b-61 and 62c-63 in their Kṛṭya-ratnākara, pp. 31-32 and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 21-22 respectively. Following Lakṣmīdhara Caṇḍeśvara also explains the words 'tad etebhyo vinirgatam' (occurring in Mat. 53. 63) as 'vinirgatam udbhūtaṃ yathā kālikāpurāṇādi'.

The omission of these verses by Aparārka who quotes verses 3-4, 11-20, 22-25a and 26b-56a in his com. (pp. 392-6) on the Yājñavalkya-smṛṭi, by Vallālasena who quotes verses 3-4 and 11-56 in his Dānasāgara (pp.463-6), and by Govindānanda who has a few lines in his Dāna-kaumudī (p. 70), should not be taken seriously. These authors, who drew upon Mat. 53 in connection with donation, had nothing to do with verses 59-63 in which there is no mention of donation.

31 Kūr. I. 1. 16-20, which deal with the origin and titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas and are given immediately after the list of the principal Purāṇas, do not seem to have belonged to the present Kūrma-p. in its Pāńcarātra

This approximate date of the grouping must not be taken to be the date of composition of the individual works forming the group, because all the eighteen Upapurāṇas, which do not belong to the same sect, could not have been written at the same time. The mention of the Nārasiṃha, Nandī-p., Sāmba and Āditya in Matsya-p., chap. 53 shows that there were Upapurāṇas which were written much earlier than the date of formation of the group; and such formation could be possible only when, in course of time, the Upapurāṇas attained the number of eighteen. It can be taken, therefore, that the age of the Upapurāṇas began approximately from the Gupta period. Orthodox opinion, however, is sometimes in favour of tracing the Upapurāṇas to a much earlier date. 33

As to the origin of the Upapurāṇas the Kūrma-p., Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) and Parāśara-upapurāṇa record a tradition that the sages proclaimed the Upapurāṇas after listening to the eighteen Purāṇas from Vyāsa.³⁴ This tradition, which

character; because the line 'idam tu pañcadaśamam purāṇam kaurmam uttamam', which occurs after the list of the Upapurāṇas, clearly shows that it immediately followed the list of the principal Purāṇas and could not be separated by the list of the Upapurāṇas.

For the date of the Kūrma-p. see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 57ff.

32 That this presumption is not totally baseless, we shall see when we analyse the Upapurānas individually.

33 For instance, in connection with the Upapurāṇas Mitra Miśra says in his Viramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15): "etāny upapurāṇāni puraṇebhya eva nirgatānīti yājñavalkyena purāṇatvena saṃgṛhītāni", thus implying that the Upapurāṇas were known to Yājñavalkya.

34 Cf. Kūr. I. 16—
anyāny upapurāņāni munibhih kathitāni tu/
aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā saṃkṣepato dvijāh//;

Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa 1. 12b-12a — aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā satyavatī-sutāt/

anyāny upapurānāni munibhih kirtītāni tu// (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378);

Parāśara-upapurāņa 1. 2,7-28a—

evam ājñāpitās tena śivena munayaḥ purā/ śrutvā satyavatī-sūnoḥ purāṇaṃ sakalaṃ mudā// anyāny upapurāṇāni cakruḥ sāratarāṇi vai/

(for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230, and Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 762).

is accepted as true by the Nibandha-writers and others, 35 assigns the Upapurāṇas to a date posterior to that of the Purāṇas and consequently to a position inferior to that of the latter. The Matsya-p. goes a step farther when it calls the Upapurāṇas mere subsections (upabheda) of the Purāṇas and propounds the theory that any Purāṇic work, which will be found to be 'different' (pṛthak) from the eighteen Purāṇas, must be known to have originated from one or other of these Purāṇas. 36 The great popularity of this theory is evidenced not only by its verbal reproduction in some of the Purāṇic works themselves 47 but also by the fact that the Nibandhakāras and others refer to, or reproduce, the lines of the Matsya-p. either in explaining the origin and nature of the different Upapurāṇas in accordance with this theory or in including, in the class of Upapurāṇas, those works of Purāṇic character which were not mentioned in the lists known to the respective writers, so that these last-mentioned works might be regarded as equally authori-

35 The entire verse

anyāny upapurāņāni munibhih kathitāni tu/aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā saṃkṣepato dvijāh//

of the Kūrma-p. is quoted in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 19, Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 13, and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 532 and II. i, p. 21, whereas only the first line is quoted by Raghunandana in his Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 792 and by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary (named Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāg. XII. 7. 17-22.

36 Cf. Mat. 53. 59a and 63 upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ/

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat pradiśyate/ vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam// For the reading 'pradiśyate' (in the second line), see also the AnSS. and Venkaṭ. editions as well as that published by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara.

37 Cf., for example, Sk VII. i. 2.³79b and 83 upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ/

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛṭhak purāṇaṃ yac ca dṛśyate/ vijānīdhyaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam// These lines agree remarkably with Mat. 53. 59a and 63 quoted above. tative.³⁸ The extant Saura-p. also lends strong support to the above theory when it calls the Upapurāṇas mere supplements (khila) to the principal Purāṇas and attaches itself in that capacity to the Brahma-p.³⁹

Though from these evidences it is clear that the above theory is one of long standing and wide acceptance, an examination of the

38 The verse 'aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇam' of the Matsya-p. (53. 63) has been quoted in Jiva Gosvāmin's commentary (named Krama-samdarbha) on Bhag. XII. 7. 17-22 (v.l. 'pradrśyate' for 'pradiśyate'), in Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15 (v.l. 'tu dṛśyate' for 'pradiśyate'), in Nityācārapradīpa, I, p. 18 (v.l. 'tu dṛśyate'), in Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32 (v.l. 'tu dṛśyate'), in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 (v.l. 'pradṛśyate') and II. i, p. 22 (v.l. 'tu drśyate'), and in Krtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30 (v.l. 'tu drśyate'). As has already been said, Laksmidhara explains this verse as referring to the Kālikā-p. etc. (See Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30— aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat tu dṛśyate/vijānidhvam dvija-śreṣthās tad etebhyo vinirgatam//vinirgatam udbhūtam/yathā kālikāpurāṇādi. For this explanation of Lakṣmidhara see also Kṛtya-ratnākara, p 32, and Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18). On the basis of this verse Mitra Miśra even goes so far as to say that as Yājñavalkya knew that the Upapurānas originated from the Purānas, he made no separate mention of the former but included them among the latter (cf. etany upapuranani puranebhya eva nirgatānīti yājnavalkyena purāņatvena samgrhītāni.—Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15).

See also Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bheba (p. 1) which says:

'atropapurāṇānām api purāṇe 'ntarbhāvaḥ'.

On the authority of this verse of the Matsya-p, the Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, pp. 18-19) and the Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15) include the Kālikā-p., Vāyu-upapurāṇa, Devī-p., Bhaviṣyottara, Nandikeśvara-p., Ādi-p. etc. among the Upapurāṇas.

39 Cf. Saura-p. 9. 12b-13a-

khilāny upapurāṇāni yāni coktāni sūribhiḥ/ idam brahmapurāṇasya khilam sauram anuttamam//

Cf. also Saura-p. 9. 5b-

etac copapurāṇānām khilatvāl lakṣaṇam smṛtam.

All these three lines have been quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p, 53², whereas only the second line is found to occur in the Skanda-p. (V. iii. 1, 46a, with v.l. 'sulabham sauram uttamam' for 'khilam sauram anuttamam'), the Revā-māhātmya (Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65), and the 'Saiva-purāṇa' drawn upon in Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary (Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāg. XII. 7. 17-22.

Upapuranas themselves shows that these works do not often look upon this theory with the same respect as the principal Puranas or other works do. In a large number of cases the Upapuranas are found to style themselves simply 'Purāṇa' and not 'Upapurāṇa' and to try to pass on their own merit without caring to attach themselves for the sake of authority to any of the principal Purāṇas;40 and in a few cases they even vie with the principal Puranas by laying claim to their position.41 Sometimes they are found to go a step farther and claim to be superior to the Mahāpurāṇas.42 It is to be noted that the older of the extant Upapurāṇas do not give any list of Upapurāṇas, nor do they seem to be familiar with their common title 'Upapurana' or with the theory of their origin which makes them mere supplements to the principal Purāṇas.43 This disagreement between the time-honoured theory and the actual practice of the Upapuranas, especially of the older ones, naturally raises doubt as to the amount of truth contained in this theory. So, in order to acquaint ourselves with the actual state of things and thus to explain successfully this disagreement between theory and practice, we shall have to investigate into the origin of the present Puranas and Upapuranas.

In connection with our study on the present form and character of the principal Purāṇas we have said elsewhere⁴⁴ that the Purāṇa

- 40 For examples we may refer to the Narasimha-p., Devi-p., Kālikā-p. etc.
- 41 For instance, in its Vāyavīya-saṃhitā (i. 1.41) the Siva-p. lays claim to the position of a principal Purāṇa by saying that the Devī-bhāgavata (I.3.16) includes the Bhāgavata-p. among the Upapurāṇas, obviously in order to establish its own claim to the status of a Purāṇa; the 'Kālikā-p.' claims to be the real Bhāgavata-p. probably, because of its dealing with the exploits of Bhagavatī (see the verse of the 'Kālikā-p.' quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 531); and so on.
- 42 See the line 'anyāny upapurāṇāni cakruḥ sāratarāṇi vai' of the Parāśaraupapurāṇa quoted in foot-note 34 above.
 - 43 For instance, see Devi-p., Narasimha-p, and Samba-p.
- 44 Problems relating to the eighteen Purāṇas have been dealt with elaborately in our Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, published by the University of Dacca. See also B. C. Mazumdar's article on the origin and character of the Purāṇa literature in Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes III, Orientalia—Part 2, pp. 9-30.

literature, which can be traced back to the Vedic period and was as sacred and important to the Vedic Aryans as the Vedas themselves, dealt with five subjects⁴⁵ in its earlier (but most probably not in its original) form, and that, in course of time, its character was changed by the Smārta Brahmin sectaries who took it up for successfully propagating their own ideas among the people who were gradually losing respect for the Vedas and the Brahmanical rules of life and conduct under the influence of the heresies as well as of the popular systems of religion then prevailing in the country. Hence the question arises—who among the Smārta Brahmin sectaries first concerned themselves with the writing and rewriting of the present Purāṇas?

From a study of the historical records of ancient India as well as of the Mahābhārata⁴⁶ and other early works of the Sanskrit literature we understand that in the pre-Gupta days the most powerful and popular systems of religion, except the heresies, were those of the Brāhmas (i.e. Brahmā-worshippers), the Pāńcarātras and the Pāśupatas. So, it may be supposed that it was the Smārta adherents to these religious systems who first took up the Purāṇas for establishing the Varṇāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas among the people and increased the number of the already existing Purāṇas by fresh additions of Purāṇic works which were often characterised by the names of the sectarian deities or their chief forms. This supposition gair s ground when we see from our examination and analysis of the contents of the extant Purāṇas⁴⁷ that those portions of these works which are to be dated

⁴⁵ Viz., (i) sarga (creation), (ii) pratisarga (re-creation, i.e. the periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds, including the geography of the earth and the atmosphere as well as the distribution of different races on the surface of the earth), (iii) vamśa (genealogies of gods, kings and sages), (iv) manvantara (cosmic cycles or the Manu-periods of time, i. e. those great periods each of which is reigned over by a Manu or primal ancestor of the human race), and (v) vamśānucarita (history of the royal dynasties and of the families of sages).

⁴⁶ In the Mahābhārata the Pāńcarātras and the Pāśupatas have been described. It makes no mention of the sub-sects which arose in course of time from these two mother sects.

⁴⁷ For analyses of the different Purāṇas see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 8ff.

earlier than 500 A. D. exhibit prominently the influence of the Smarta Brahmas, Smarta Pancaratras and Smarta Pasupatas.48

The next most important and powerful group of sectaries to concern themselves with the composition of the Purāṇas were the Bhāgavatas who rose to great prominence during the Gupta period. It was undoubtedly the Smārta adherents to the Bhāgavata system who wrote the Bhāgavata-p.

Though it is next to impossible to say definitely when the Smārta adherents to the four systems mentioned above first began to use the Purāṇas for controlling the masses who had become seriously influenced by these⁴⁹ and other systems of religion, and what the number of the prevalent Purāṇas was when these sectaries first set their hands to them, it can scarcely be denied that more Purāṇas than one had come into existence long before the beginning of the Christian era. By its mention of a 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa'⁵⁰ the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra shows that at the time of composition of this Sūtra work 'the term Purāṇa had become so thoroughly specialised as to have lost its proper meaning, and had become merely the designation of a particular class of books. It would have required the existence of a number of books called Purāṇas to produce that change, and manifestly they must have had their own special names to distinguish from one another and so

⁴⁸ For instance, the influence of Brahmā as Supreme Brahma is prominent in Mārkaṇḍeya-p., chap. 45 (=chap. 42 in the Venkaṭ. ed. and chap. 48 in Bibl. Ind. and Jīvānanda's editions) which is one of the earliest chapters of the extant Mārkaṇḍeya-p. (see Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, English translation, Introduction, p. xx, and Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 8-13); the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, which preserves in it the earliest portions of the extant Padma-p., was originally written, or compiled, by the Brahmā-worshippers (see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 120ff.); the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa-p. are pre-eminently Pāśupata; the Viṣṇu and the extant Kūrma-p. in its earliest form are Pāñcarātra in character; and so on.

⁴⁹ For the original nature and early spread of these systems, see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 193ff.

⁵⁰ The term 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' is self-contradicting, because the word 'purāṇa' originally means 'ancient', and then, as a name in literature, it signifies not an ancient book but an ancient subject, Archaica.

convert their common title Purāṇa into a class designation.'51 Hence it must be admitted that the number of Purāṇas had begun to multiply even before the time of Āpastamba. An examination of the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas⁵² shows that this growth in their number must have been accelerated by the activities of the sectaries mentioned above; and when, in course of time, their number became 'eighteen,'53 it was rigidly fixed.

Here a question may be raised as to how the eighteen Purāṇas, which were the mouth-pieces of sectaries following different faiths, could be grouped together and regarded as equally important and authoritative by all of them and how they came to believe deeply in this group even at the sacrifice of their respective sectarian interests. In reply to this question we may refer to the spirit of religious syncretism, ⁵⁴ as well as that of sectarian rivalry, ⁵⁵ that went hand in hand in ancient India ⁵⁶ and is to be found in the Hindu society even at the present day. These tendencies must have been incentives to the recasting of the same Purāṇa sometimes by different sects as well as as to the interpolation of chapters on different deities in a particular Purāṇa; and in this way all the Purāṇas had come to attain equal, or almost equal, importance in the eyes of the worshippers of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva before the grouping was made.

- 51 Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 50-51.
- 52 For instance, the titles 'Brahma-purāṇa,' 'Padma-purāṇa,' etc. connect these works with Brahmā, who came out of the Lotus issuing from Viṣṇu's navel. Similarly, Matsya, Kūrma, Vāmana, etc. are the names of Viṣṇu's incarnations; Garuḍa is Viṣṇu's mount; and so on.
- 53 Among the numerals used for summing up a multitude of concrete objects, a line of abstract ideas, a number of traditional texts, and the like, the numeral 'eighteen' is often used in the position of a sacred number.

For a detailed study on this numeral see O, Stein in Poona Orientalist, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 1-37.

- 54 Cf., for example, the great influence of the Sāmkhya and Vedānta systems as well as of the doctrine of Trimūrti on the Purānas.
- 55 See, for instance, Varāha-p., chaps. 70 and 71, Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-kh.), chap. 17, Linga-p. I. 107. 41-42, and so on. See also Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 8ff.
 - 56 The present Puranas amply testify to both these tendencies.

The non-inclusion of the word 'upapurāna' in the Amarakoşa which defines 'Purāṇa' as 'pañca-lakṣaṇa', and the mention of the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas in the Viṣṇu-p., Mārkaṇdeya-p. etc. without any reference, direct or indirect, to any Upapurāṇa, tend to show that the group of the 'eighteen' Puranas had been formed before the Upapuranas came into existence. 57. After this grouping had been complete, there came into prominence many sub-systems which arose from the main systems of religion, mentioned above, either directly or by identifying the local deities with one or other of the prominent deities of the main systems. In addition to these, there were also other independent systems, viz., Saura,58 Sākta etc., which began to hold the field and attain rivalry with the systems already established in the country. These sub-systems and independent systems also had their Smārta adherents who interpolated chapters in the Puranas of the already established group, and, in some cases, wrote new and independent Purāṇic works styled 'Purāṇa'59 in order to propagate their own ideas. Thus, with the progress of time the number of the Puranas was further increased with fresh additions. But as the followers of the famous group of the 'eighteen' Puranas believed deeply that there could be no 'Purana' beyond the famous 'eighteen', they were unwilling to assign these new Puranic works to a status equal to that of the famous Puranas. On the other hand, these new Purāṇic works had become too well-known and popular to be ignored totally. So, they introduced verses into the Matsya-p. to the effect that any Puranic work, which would be found to be different

57 The tradition recorded in the Kūrma-p., Siva-māhātmya-kh, etc. also says that the Upapurāṇas were written by different sages after the eighteen Purāṇas had been completed by Vyāsa. (See footnote 34 above).

Though Sun-worship is of very ancient origin, the Saura sect, with Persian elements in the cult of the Sun, became prominent in India much later. See Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 151-3; Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc., pp. 153-5; J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 137-140, 198-9, 430-445.

59 Note that Mat. 53.60 mentions 'Nandīpurāņa' (and not 'Nandīupapurāṇa'), although the latter is called an 'upabheda.'

The Narasimha-p., Sāmba-p., Devi-p. etc. call themselves 'Purāṇa' and not 'Upapurāṇa.'

from the established eighteen, would be known to have originated from the latter. Thus, we think, the original position of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas and the rigidity of their number were maintained, and the Upapurāṇas also were given a position.

The theory, thus propounded and introduced into the Matsya-p. by the staunch believers in the 'eighteen' Purāṇas, influenced not only the later Purāṇas but also the Upapurāṇas in some cases and was the root cause of giving rise to the common title 'Upapurāṇa'60 for the new Purāṇic works by calling them mere supplements (upabheda) of the famous eighteen. It is for this reason that these new Purāṇic works are grouped under the common title 'Upapurāṇa' in some of the extant Purāṇas and that in a few cases the new Purāṇic works are found to attach themselves as supplements to one or other of the eighteen Purāṇas⁶¹ or to call themselves 'Upapurāṇas' in spite of their independent character. 62

As to the contents of the Upapurāṇas the Saura-p. says: "A Purāṇa has five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy (of gods, kings and sages), Manu-periods of time, and history of the royal dynasties and the families of sages. These are the characteristics of the Purāṇas such as the Brāhma etc. These, again, are known to be the characteristics of the Upapurāṇas because of their supplementary character." The Bhāgavata and the Brahmavaivarta-p. also express the same opinion though from a different standpoint. Of these too works, the former says: "According to the Purāṇa-experts,

⁶⁰ The Bhāgavata-p. (XII. 7. 10 and 22) divides the Purāṇic works into two classes, (i) Alpa or Kṣullaka and (ii) Mahat. But the passage, in which this classification occurs, is of a very late date.

⁶¹ For instance, the Saura-p. is called a supplement to the 'Brahma-p.' in the body of the work as well as in the chapter-colophons.

⁶² See, for instance, the Parāśara-upapurāņa (a Ms of which has been described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1229-30).

⁶³ sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca/,
vaṃśānucaritaṃ caiva purāṇaṃ pañca-lakṣaṇam//
brāhmādināṃ purāṇānām uktam etat tu lakṣaṇam/
etac copapurāṇānāṃ khilatvāl lakṣaṇaṃ smṛtam//

THE UPAPURANA LITERATURE

a Purana must be furnished with ten characteristics, viz., sarga, visarga, vṛtti, rakṣā, antara, vaṃśa, vaṃśānucarita, saṃsthā, betu and apāśraya, and some, O Brahman, ascribe to it five characteristics by distinguishing between 'great' and 'small'."64 The latter work, which is more direct and clear and seems to follow the former in its enumeration, says that an Upapurana is to have five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy of gods and sages, cosmic cycle, and history of the royal dynasties and the families of sages, whereas a Mahāpurāņa is to have ten, viz., sṛṣṭi, visṛṣṭi, sthiti, pālana, karma-vāsanā, manu-vārtā, pralaya-varnana, moksa-nirūpana, hari-kīrtana and devakīrtana.65 Whatever may be the views about the contents of the Upapuranas, an examination of the extant Upapuranas shows that very few of them conform even approximately to the above views. In spite of the great influence of the old tradition that a Purana is to deal with five subjects, the Upapuranas, which are more exclusively adapted to suit the purposes of local cults and the religious needs of different sects than the

sargo'syātha visargaś ca vṛtti-rakṣāntarāṇi ca/
vaṃśo vaṃśānucaritaṃ saṃsthā hetur apāśrayaḥ//
daśabhir lakṣaṇair yuktaṃ purāṇaṃ tadvido viduḥ/
kecit pañca-vidhaṃ brahman mahad-alpa-vyavasthayā//
Bhāg. XII. 7. 9-10.

(The terms 'sarga', 'visarga' etc. have been defined in Bhāg. XII. 7. 11-21). The second verse is explained by Śridhara Śvāmin as: 'daśabhir etair lakṣaṇair arthair yuktam mahāpurāṇam viduḥ/ kecit pañca-vidham/ sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca/ vaṃśānucaritam ceti purāṇam pañca-lakṣaṇam// iti/ mahat purāṇam alpaṃ ceti vyavasthayā/ yatra daśāpi lakṣaṇānī pṛthak pṛthan nirūpyante tan mahāpurāṇam/ yatra tv anyeṣāṃ pañcasv evāntarbhāvasya vivakṣā tad alpam iti vyavasthayetyarthaḥ/' Viśvanātha Cakravartin also explains this verse in the same way, and even with the same words, as Śridhara. According to these explanations the Mahāpurāṇas must deal with the ten subjects separately, whereas in the Upapurāṇas the five topics (creation, re-creation etc.) must include the remaining five.

As regards its own contents the Bhāgavata-p. (II. 9. 43) says that it has ten characteristics which are enumerated, with explanation, as sarga, visarga, sthāna, poṣaṇa, ūti, manvantara, īśānukathā, nirodha, mukti and āśraya (Bhāg. II. 7. 1-7). That there is practically no difference between the two lists of the ten characteristics of a Purāṇa, is shown by Śrīdhara Svāmin in his explanation of the verse 'sargo'syātha visargaś ca' (Bhāg. XII. 7. 9.)

Māhāpurāṇas and which arose at a time when the genealogies began to be neglected,66 are never found to be serious about the genealogies of kings and sages. In those cases in which the Upapuranas include such genealogies, the ancient kings, especially of the Solar and Lunar races, are the chief points of interest, probably because of their giving a stamp of antiquity to these works, and nothing is said about any of the dynasties of the Kali age. Even as regards those genealogies which have been included in the Upapuranas, no care has been taken to preserve their correctness, but new myths and stories have been unscrupulously fabricated and attached to the important names in these genealogies. But in spite of such defects the Upapuranas are of inestimable value from the point of view of the history of religion and culture, and on this head alone they deserve far more careful study than has hitherto been devoted to them. They not only afford us great insight into all phases and aspects of Hinduism-its mythology, its idol-worship, its theism and pantheism, its love of God, its philosophy and superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies, and its ethics, but also supply us with important information about the different branches of science and literature which were developed in ancient India and at the same time render us inestimable help in reconstructing some of those monumental works of the Sanskrit literature which have been lost for ever. 67 In these respects the Upapuranas are sometimes more important than the Mahāpurāṇas. The latter attained such an enviable and authoritative position from an early date that they were often worked upon by the different sectaries and, in

⁶⁵ By IV. 131. 6-10.

⁶⁶ An examination of the extant Mahāpurāṇas shows that the custom of recording new dynastic history ceased with the early Guptas, after whom no important dynasty or monarch of India has been mentioned or described in the Purāṇas. This proves that from the Gupta period the Purāṇic tradition took, in practice, a new trend which culminated in turning the Purāṇas into books of myths and legends and Smṛti topics with highly imperfect, and sometimes forged, genealogical lists.

⁶⁷ In some cases the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas contain summaries of ancient Sanskrit works such as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and, more often, incorporate chapters and verses from old and authoritative works, some of which are no longer extant.

some cases, bodily replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the earlier ones. 68 So, the text of the extant Mahāpurāṇas which are the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made in different times and by different sects, is scarcely reliable and can be used only with great caution and careful discrimination. But very different is the case with the Upapuranas which, probably on account of their secondary position, have been worked upon much less freely by the later redactors and interpolators. They have thus been able to preserve, in a few cases, their older materials along with their distinctive sectarian character. It is for this reason that among the extant Upapuranas there are some which are much older than many of the extant Mahāpurāṇas.69 In those cases in which the Upapuranas have been subjected to modifications and interpolations or have been replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the works replaced,70 the authors of these changes, modifications etc. are very often persons belonging to those sects to which the respective Upapuranas originally belonged. So, in spite of their modifications, interpolations or totally new forms, they are to be valued as the records of changes undergone in different ages by the respective sects to which these works originally belonged; and the hands of people belonging to more sects than one being scarcely laid on any one of them, their study is generally a little easier than that of the extant Mahāpurāņas.

68 For instance, we may refer to the present Brahma, Agni, and Garuda-p. For information about these Purāṇas, see Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 134-157.

69 We shall try to prove the truth of this statement when we shall deal with the question of chronology of the different Upapurāṇas.

The Upapurānas are cetainly not all 'later and inferior works' as F. E. Pargiter would make us believe. (See Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. X, p. 455 for Pargiter's views regarding the Upapurānas).

70 The old tradition recorded in the verse

'kālenāgrahaṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā purāṇasya tato nṛpa/ vyāsa-rūpam ahaṃ kṛtvā saṃharāmi yuge yuge///

was as much applicable to the Upapurāṇas as to the Mahāpurāṇas. It is for this reason that works or chapters on older rites and customs were sometimes replaced by new ones.

It has already been said that the Upapurāṇa literature consists of a large number of works, of which some are available in printed forms, some exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations, and some must have perished altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. Of these works, I shall first analyse those which were available to me in printed forms or manuscripts. The Upapurāṇas still existing in manuscripts beyond my reach or known from references and quotations will be dealt with later.

CHAPTER II

THE SAURA UPAPURĀNAS

The Sun has been, under different names, an object of great adoration from the early Vedic period, and it is possible that there arose quite early a fairly extensive literature, both Purāṇic and otherwise,¹ on the praise and worship of this god, who appears in the Vedic works as one of the most prominent deities; but of the numerous Purāṇic works now extant it is only the Sāmba-p. which deals principally with the cult of the Sun. Chapters and extracts on the method and praise of Sun-worship occur in some of the other Purāṇas also, viz., Bhaviṣya-p., Brahma-p., Skanda-p., Varāha-p., Matsya-p., Agni-p., Garuḍa-p., Viṣṇudharmottara, Bhaviṣyottara, Kālikā-p., and so on. The Mārkaṇḍeya-p. contains a few chapters on the praise of and stories about the Sun.

The Vedic, epic and Sanskrit literatures abound in evidences regarding the early beginning and spread of the worship of the atmospheric sun as a god, but the conception of the Sun as an imaginary god of light and the practice of his worship in images came into vogue at a comparatively late period. That this later phase of Sun-worship was due to Magian influence is amply evidenced by the Scythian coins,² the Purāṇic works, the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (chaps. 58 and 60), and

r For instance, in Bhavisya-p. I. 4. 89 we find mention of an ancient work dealing with the Saura Dharmas as declared by Nārada (saurā dharmāś ca rājendra nāradoktā mahīpate). According to the Bhavisya, this work (most probably called 'Saura-dharma') as well as the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, etc. was designated technically by the term 'Jaya' (see Bhavisya-p. I. 4. 87b-89).

The above line of the Bhaviṣya-p. is found quoted in Lakṣmidhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru (I, p. 25), Caṇḍeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 30), and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, p. 22) with the reading 'mānavoktāḥ' for 'nāradoktāḥ'.

It should be mentioned here that the Saura work spoken out by Nārada (or Mānava) has become extinct.

2 Ind. Ant., 1888, pp. 89ff.; Gardner, Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, pp. 131, 134, 141-3, 155,

a number of seals and inscriptions.3 Probably during the reign of the Scythian kings or even earlier, a new form of Sun-worship was introduced in Northern India by bands of Magi priests who called their deity 'Mithra' (or 'Mihira'). These Magas, as the Magi priests were called in India, seem to have established their first settlement at a place called 'Mitra-vana' ('forest of Mitra') on the bank of the Candrabhaga in the Punjab, and at this place they constructed a city called 'Mūla-sthāna' ('original place of settlement' or 'original place of the Sun'-modern Multan) and a Sun-temple4 containing an image of the deity. As the Magian adherents to the worship of the Sun (Mithra) had a proselytising spirit and must have enjoyed state-support at least under the Scythian kings,5 they set themselves most zealously to popularising their faith in different parts of India. In striking agreement with the orthodox followers of the Vedas, they pointed out to the people the various benefits of Sun-worship, viz., freedom from sins and diseases, attainment of peace and prosperity, success in enterprises, and so on.6 They also took full advantage of the long-standing popularity of the deity in India and of his worship in a symbol which was very often a wheel or disc and not rarely a circle or a lotus.7 As Viṣṇu, Siva and many other deities had begun from a

and so on; Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I, pp. 188-9, 198, and so on.

3 See Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc., p. 154; J. N. Banerjea, Development

of Hindu Iconography, pp. 198-9.

4 This historic temple, with the enshrined image of the Sun, was visited by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang as well as by Alberūnī, Al Edrisi, Abu Ishak al Ishtakhri, and several others.

For Hiuen Tsiang's description of this temple see Samuel Beal, Buddhist

Records of the Western World, II, pp. 274-5.

5 For the probable connection of the kings of the Sunga and Kanva dynasties as well as of the Hūṇas with Mitra- (Mithra-) worship, see Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 56-7.

6 Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā (Calcutta), LVII, 1357 B.S., pp. 25-43.

The story of Sāmba, as given in the Sāmba-p., Bhavisya-p. and Varāha-p., shows clearly that the Magas laid special stress on the Sun's capacity for destroying sins and curing various diseases, especially leprosy,

7 For the basis of the Vedic custom of representing Sūrya by a wheel or disc see Rg-veda I. 175. 4, IV. 28. 2, 30. 4, and V. 29. 10, in which Sūrya has

very early period to be widely worshipped in images,8 for which public or private temples were often built, Indian people must have felt a great want in these respects with regard to the worship of the Sun, for which the Vedic people made no provision for the construction of any image or temple. Fortunately, the Magas came forward to remove this long-felt want, and it was to this contribution of these foreigners that their remarkable success in speedily popularising their faith was due to a very great extent. The Samba-p. (29. 2-6) points to this truth when it says:

"na purā pratimā hy āsīt pūjyate maņdale ravih | yathaitan mandalam vyomni sthiyate savitus tadā | evam eva purā bhaktaih pūjyate maņdalākṛtih | yatah prabhṛti capy esa nirmita viśvakarmaṇa | sarva-loka-hitārthāya sūryasya puruṣākṛtiḥ |

grheșu pratimāyās tu na tāsām niyamah kvacit |

devāyatana-vinyāse kāryam mūrti-parīkṣaṇam ""

been called a 'wheel' (cakra) or 'the wheel (cakra) of Sūrya' has been mentioned. See also Satapatha-brahmana VII. 4. 1. 10, which mentions the placing of a disc of gold on the Fire altar to represent the Sun.

For wheels and lotuses representing the Sun on coins, etc. see Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, XVI, pp. 51-3, and J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 137-140, 198-9 and 432ff. See also Mat. 74-80, Pd, Srsti-khanda, 21. 216-321, Bhavisyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV), chaps. 48-53, and so on.

For a Mandala for Sun-worship see especially the Bhavisya-p, (Brāhmaparvan). In commenting on Apastamba-dharmasūtra ii. 11. 29. 16 Haradatta says that the Dravidas used to worship Aditya (the Sun) by drawing Mandalas on the ground (.....dravidāh kanyā-mesasthe savitary āditya-pūjām ācaranti bhūmau mandalam ālikhya.....).

8 See, for instance, Gautama-dharmasūtra 9. 13 (na vāyv-agni-vipr-ādityapo devatā gāś ca prati paśyan vā mūtra-puriṣ-āmedhyān vyudasyet) and g. 14 (naitā devatāh prati pādau prasārayet). According to Haradatta and Maskari, the word 'devatāh', occurring in the former Sūtra, means images (pratimāh).

The separate use of the word 'devatāḥ' in the former Sūtra shows that the word 'aditya' meant the atmospheric sun and not any image of Aditya.

The word 'devatāh' in the latter Sūtra must have been intended for creating

"In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun); the Sun was worshipped in a circle. The Sun, worshipped by his devotees in early days, was circular, just as there is the disc (of the Sun) in the sky. The human form of the Sun (came into vogue) for the good of all the worlds from the time it was made by Viśvakarman. No rule is (to be observed) in the case of those images which are (worshipped) in (private) houses; The examination of the image is to be made in case it is placed in a temple." There was another strong ground for the wide popularity of the Magian method of Sun-worship. It was that the Magas allowed great privilege in religious matters to women and members of lower castes. However, the spread of Magian ideas was not, in all respects. very favourable to the Varnaśrama-dharma and the authority of the Vedas. As regards conception of Mithra and the procedure of his worship, the Magi priests differed much from the Sun-worshippers of India. Their manners and customs also were, to a great extent, different from those of the members of the Vedic fold. Hence, in order to modify the earlier cult of the Sun by incorporating Magian elements (which must have been too popular to be neglected), to establish the position of Magas as full-fledged Brahmins authorised to worship the Sun, and to conform the Magian ideas and practices to the Vedic notions, the Samba-p. had to be written and chapters had to be inserted into the Bhavisya and other Puranic works. What steps were taken to achieve these ends and how and when, will be evident from the following analysis of the Samba-p.

I. THE SAMBA-PURANA

This work, as we have it in the Venkat. edition, is divided into 84 chapters. It begins with a salutation to the Sun (variously named

a sense of divinity with regard to wind, fire etc. and thus for pointing out their sacred character.

9 The only printed edition of this work is that published by the Venkațeśvara Press, Bombay 1899. This edition has been accomplished so carelessly that innumerable mistakes, due to both omission and commission, have crept in. It is based most probably on a single Ms; otherwise, variants would have been given at some place or other of this edition. We have, however, used the

as Savitr, Bhāskara, Arka, Ravi, Āditya etc.) who is the cause of creation, protection and destruction of the universe and is the soul of Pitāmaha, Nārayaṇa and Samkara, whose manifestations are the three Vedas, and who pervades the universe in the forms of Sakra, Vahni, Yama, Varuna, Samīrana (i. e. Vāyu), Dhanada and others who crowd the quarters. It then states that during a twelve-year sacrifice in Naimiṣāranya Saunaka asked Sūta, "Here, O Sūta, you have narrated

materials of this Purana with extreme caution. As large numbers of verses, nay even complete chapters, of the Samba-p. are found common with the Bhavisya-p. (Brāhma-parvan), Brahma-p. and Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa-khanda), we have, in cases of doubt as regards the correctness of the readings of any of these verses, made a careful comparison before accepting any reading as authentic.

For Mss of the Samba-p. see

(1) Eggeling, Ind. Off Cat., VI, pp. 1316-18

[No. 3619.—This is a complete Ms consisting of 70 chapters. Its second introductory verse 'timira-kira-kirātah etc.' does not occur in the printed edition. Though Eggeling's description of this Ms as well as a comparison of its concluding verses with those of the ASB and Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss shows that the contents of this Ms are practically the same as those of the printed edition, chap. 55 of the printed edition does not seem to occur in this Ms. The difference in the numbers of chapters between this Ms and the printed edition is due to the fact that in a few cases single chapters of this Ms have each been split up into two or more in the printed edition. For instance,

chap. 1 of this Ms chaps. 1-2 of the printed edition, = ,, 48 ,, ,, ,, 49-52 and so on

The contents of this Ms after chap. 48 are divided into 22 sections which are neither numbered nor designated as Adhyāyas. Some of these sections are termed 'Patala.' These sections form practically a distinct part comprised under the general title 'Jñanottara'; and the last of these sections, which corresponds to chap. 84 of the printed edition, ends with a few verses which occur in the latter, These concluding verses agree with those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms (for which see below).

No. 3620.—This is practically the same as the preceding Ms.]

(2) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 750-7

[No. 4091.—This incomplete Ms, which agrees considerably with the Ind. Off. Ms mentioned above, lacks the second introductory verse 'timira-kira-kirātah etc.' of the latter. It ends with chap. 81 and a part of chap. 82 of the printed edition. Thus, it lacks chaps, 83-84 and a part of chap. 82 of the latter.

No. 4092.—This Ms was copied in Saka 1764. It consists of 75 chapters,

to us, first of all, the old and much elaborate story of the six-faced [god Kārttikeya]; next [you have told us about] the Cosmic Egg (brahmāṇḍa), and also what was spoken by Vāyu and by Sāvarṇika, by Mārkaṇḍeya and by Vaiśaṃpāyana, by Dadhīci and by Sarva (i.e. Siva), by Hari, by the sages, and by the Bālakhilyas. And we have heard all these [from you] in company with the sages. But, O sage, you have not narrated what was done by the son of Hari (i.e. by Sāmba)The Purāṇa of Bhāskara (bhāskarasya purāṇaṃ), which was enquired into by the wise Sāmba, is concerned with the twelfth form

of which the last corresponds to chap. 84 of the printed edition. In spite of this difference in the numbers of chapters, the contents of this Ms and the printed edition are practically the same. In this Ms, chaps. 52-74 have been grouped under a general title 'Jñānottara,' but this title does not occur in the colophon of chap. 75, in which Nārada speaks to Sāmba.

No. 4093.—Though this Ms consists of 83 chapters and has a defective beginning, it is practically the same as the printed edition. Of the last six verses of the concluding chapter of this Ms, the first two and a half agree with verses 14-15 of chap. 84 of the printed edition, and the remaining ones are the same as the verses immediately preceding the two concluding verses of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. Like the other Mss and the printed edition, this Ms contains a latter part called 'Jñānottara', but in the colophon of its concluding chapter, in which Nārada speaks to Sāmba, the word 'Jñānottara' does not occur.

No. 4094.—It deals with the praise of the Sāka-dvīpī Brahmins and claims to be the seventh chapter of the Sāmba-p. But in the printed edition the Sāka-dvīpī Brahmins are praised in chap. 26. Moreover, the opening verses of this Ms, as given by Shastri, do not agree with those of chap. 26 of the printed edition. So, we are not sure whether these two chapters are considerably the same.]

(3) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 122-3

[No. 214.—The introductory and the concluding verses of this Ms, as given in the Catalogue, show that the contents of this Ms also are practically, the same as those of the printed edition. The two concluding verses of this Ms agree with those of the Ind, Off. Ms; and the three verses and a half, immediately preceding those two concluding verses, are found to occur at the end of an ASB Ms (Cat. No. 4093).]

- (4) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. ii, pp. 1000-1001.
- (5) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 338.
- (6) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 193.
- (7) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7177-78, No. 10584.

of the Sun (? dvādaśākāra)...... O blessed one, please narrate this entire Purana which is based on all scriptures".10 Consequently, Suta praised the Samba-p. over the Mahabharata and all other Puranas and said that this Purana would contain chapters dealing with the following

Various old and interesting stories; essence of the Vedas and the Smrtis given in connection with the duties of the different castes; [various kinds of worship of the Sun; how Nārada caused Kṛṣṇa to curse Samba; (the Sun's) foundation of a town by way of favouring Sāmba; measurement of Sūrya-maṇḍala; the paring of the Sun's rays by means of a lathe, and the eulogy of the Sun; Samba's joy, and his consecration of an image of the Sun; Samba's bringing of the Magas; praise of the Magas; method of the worship of the Sun; 11 the past, present and future; dissertation on mantras; description of the origin and destruction of the universe; sāngopānga-samāhāra; introduction of the rules about, and worship of, the Sun; the six acts, viz., vasīkaraņa, ākarṣaṇa, māraṇa, uccāṭana, vidveṣaṇa, and stambhana; characteristics of the Sun's image; rules about the construction of the house for the worship of the Sun; description of mandalas (circles), and the performance of various kinds of yaga (viz., kriya-yaga, siddhi-yaga, mahāmaṇḍala-yāga, etc.); means of attaining the of the twelve-formed Sun; placing of the Sun on the lathe;12

For these verses see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1317.

IO Sāmba-p. 1. 8b-14.

After 1, 17a our printed edition omits the following five verses: śṛṇudhvam munayah sarve sāmbākhyam pāpanāśanam/ purāṇam sarva-rogaghnam param kalyāṇa-dāyakam// atra nānā-vidhā pūjā sūryasya ca mahātmanah/ pituh śāpo hi sāmbasya nāradas tatra kāraņam// śāpānugrahataś caiva tathā pura-niveśanam/ mandalasya pramānam hi bhramer ārādhanam tathā// tejasām śātanam caiva sūrya-stavas tathaiva ca/ sāmbasya ca tadollāsam pratimā-sthāpanam tathā// magānayanam atraiva maga-māhātmyam eva ca/ pūjā-vidhim raver atra pūjānisthās tathaiva ca//

The printed ed. reads 'bhumer va tosanam' (1, 21), but the Ind. Off. Ms reads 'bhramimanopanam.' As Eggeling suggests, the original reading was

about flowers and incense; duties on the Saptamī Tithi; method of fasting; results of gifts; determination of proper time; method of performing the duties to the Sun; method of burning incense; directions regarding the study of scriptures (called 'jaya'); description of dreams; penance; characteristics of spiritual preceptors; initiation, and selection of mantras for the initiated; and various eulogies.—(Chap. 1).

Sūta then said that once king Bṛhadbala, who was born in the race of Raghu, wanted to hear from his preceptor Vasiṣṭha about the eternal Brahma which caused cessation of rebirths, and put to him the following questions:—

(1) Which god should be worshipped by a member of any of the four asramas who wishes to attain final release?

(2) 'How could he be sure of the attainment of heaven as well as the highest bliss?

(3) What should he do after passing to heaven, so that he may

not lose it again?

(4) Who is the chief among the gods and Pitrs?

(5) Whence did this universe originate, and where will it go after destruction?

In answer to these questions Vasistha praised the Sun as the only visible and eternal deity who is the highest among the gods and Pitrs and is the only source of energy, who never moves from his fixed position, who manifests the universe from himself in creation and absorbs it into himself at the time of destruction, into whom the Yogins and the Sāmkhyas enter after forsaking their bodies, and into whose region the kings like Janaka, the sages like the Bālakhilyas, Pańcaśikha and Suka, and many members of different varnas entered in times of yore by practising yoga, and who, therefore, is the only god deserving devotion and worship.—(Chap. 2). Bṛhadbala then wanted to know where the original place (ādyam sthānam) of worship of the Sun was situated on earth. Consequently, Vasiṣṭha said that out of affection for Sāmba and in order to favour the whole world the Sun permanently resided, in his twelfth form, viz.,

probably 'bhramim āropaṇaṇ' or 'bhramer āropaṇaṇ.' It is more probable that the reading was 'bhramāv āropaṇam.'

Mitra, 13 in the 'city called Sāmba' on the bank of the Candrabhāgā and thence favoured his worshippers by accepting their worship duly performed. At Bṛhadbala's request Vasiṣṭha narrated the story of Sāmba in the following way.

Viṣṇu, one of the twelve sons of Aditi, was born as Vāsudeva, and Sāmba was the son of this Vāsudeva. Once the irascible sage Nārada, who had access into all the regions of the universe, came with some sages to the city of Dvāravatī in order to see Vāsudeva. Pradyumna and other young Yādavas received Nārada with proper respect, but Sāmba was so proud of his youth and physical beauty and was so much addicted to amorous sports that he neglected the sage. In order to teach Sāmba modesty, Nārada told Vāsudeva that all his 16000 wives were so much enamoured of Sāmba that they were always anxious to meet him. But Vāsudeva did not believe in Nārada's words. So, Nārada promised to convince Vāsudeva of the truth of his allegation, and went away. After a few days Nārada returned to Dvārakā and found Vāsudeva enjoying water-sports etc. in the pleasure-garden in Raivataka in company with his wives, who

13 Sāmba-p. 3. 3 reads:—

prītyā sāmbasya tatrārko jagato 'nugrahāya ca/ sthito dvādaśa-bhāgena mitro maitreņa cakṣuṣā//

In Samba-p. 4.6 Mitra is mentioned as the last of the twelve Adityas.

14 Sāmba-p. 3.6 reads: -

aditer dvādaśaḥ putro viṣṇur yaḥ sa punas tv iha/ vāsudevatvam āpannas tasya sāmbo 'bhavat sutah//

In this verse Viṣṇu is called the twelfth son of Aditi; but in none of the two lists of the names of the twelve Ādityas given in Sāmba-p., chaps. 4 (verse 6) and 9 (verses 3b-4) Viṣṇu is assigned the twelfth place. Moreover, in the lines corresponding to Sāmba-p. 3. 6 the Bhaviṣya-p. does not mention Viṣṇu as the twelfth Āditya, These lines of the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 72. 10-11) are as follows:—

ya ete dvādaśādityā virājante mahābalāḥ/ teṣāṃ yo viṣṇu-saṃjñas tu sarva-lokeṣu viśrutaḥ/ tasmāt sāmbaḥ suto jajñe etc.

So, the present text of Sāmba-p. 3. 6 (aditer dvādaśah putro viṣṇuḥ etc.) must be due to a revision made according to the list of the names of the twelve Ādityas as given in Samba-p. 51 (verses 66-67 and 162-170) in which Viṣṇu is assigned the twelfth place. We shall see hereafter that chap. 51 of the Samba-p, was a later addition.

were coming under the influence of wine they were drinking. This was a great opportunity for Nārada. He went to Sāmba and told him that he was wanted by his father immediately. Samba hastened to Vāsudeva and stood before him. At the sight of Sāmba all of Vāsudeva's wives, except three, namely, Rukminī, Satyabhāmā and Jāmbavatī, became extremely passionate. At this moment Nārada went there. As Vasudeva's wives stood up to receive the sage, signs of their extreme passion became prominent on their dress. Vasudeva understood their mental condition and cursed them all, except the above-mentioned three, to be unable to pass to the region of their husband after his death and to be forcibly carried away by robbers. (Here the Purana states that after Vasudeva's death, his wives were carried away by some 'thieves of the land of five rivers' even before the eyes of Arjuna). Vāsudeva did not spare Sāmba but cursed him to become an ugly leper. Samba immediately became so, and Narada went away. (Here the Purana informs us that 'later on, being impelled by destiny and by the recollection of the previous event, Samba enraged the sage Durvasas again in the same way and had his family exterminated by a musala born as a result of the sage's curse').15—(Chap. 3). Being thus cursed by his father, Samba pleaded innocent, and Kṛṣṇa advised Sāmba to take recourse to Nārada for remedy. In accordance with this advice Samba met Narada at Dvāravatī when the latter came there to see 'Viṣṇu' (i. e. Vāsudeva) on another occasion, and requested him to name the highest deity who deserved adoration of all gods and to whom he could take recourse for getting rid of the curse. Nārada described his visit to the Sūrya-loka (Solar region), where he found the Sun attended by the gods, Yakṣas Gandharvas, Apsarases etc., by the three Vedas incarnate, by the sages who were reciting the Vedic hymns of praise, by the three Samdhyas incarnate, Adityas, Vasus, Maruts and Aśvins, by Brahma, Visnu and Rudra, by the Sun's two wives Rājñī and Niksubhā who remained at his

15 Sāmba-p. 3. 52-53-

sāmbena punar apy evam durvāsāh kopito munih/ bhāvyenārthena cātyartham pūrvānusmaranena vai// prāptavān sumahacchāpam sāmbo vai manujottamah/, tac-chāpān musalam jātam kulam yenāsya pātitam// sides, by Pingala, the recorder of good and bad deeds of creatures, 16 by Danda-nāyaka, by Rājña 17 and Stoṣa, 18 by Kalmāṣa (i. e. Yama) and Pakṣin (i. e. Garuḍa) who were stationed at the gate, by the four-horned (or four-peaked—catuḥ-śṛṅga) god Vyoman who resembled the Meru, and by the naked Dinḍi. 19 He spoke on the greatness of the Sun and advised Sāmba to take recourse to this deity who pervaded the universe and was eulogised by Brahmā and other gods.—(Chap. 6). Consequently, Sāmba started, with his father's permission, from the northern shore of the sea (?), 20 reached the 'great river (mahānadī)

16 Sāmba-p. 6. 21b reads 'pingalo devakaḥ,' but in the corresponding line the Bhavisya-p. (I. 76. 13) reads 'pingalo lekhakaḥ.' That the reading of the Bhavisya-p. is the correct one is evidenced by Sāmba-p. 16. 6b-7a, in which Pingala is described as being engaged by the Sun in recording the good and bad deeds of all beings. See also Sāmba-p. 7. 2 for the same function of Pingala.

In Visnudh, III. 67. 5-7 also Pingala is described as 'atipingala,' 'uddīptaveśa,' 'lekhanī-patra-kara' and 'carma-śūla-dhara.'

17-18 In Bhav. I. 76. 13b and 18, which correspond to Sāmba-p. 6. 22a and 7. 3a respectively, these two names are given as Rājā and Śrosa. But in Bhav. I. 124. 13 and 22-24a these names occur as Rājā and Śrausa, the latter name being said to have been derived from the root 'sru' used in the sense of motion. See also Bhav. I. 143. 40a in which the names are given as Rājā and Srausa. Bhav. I. 130. 52b wrongly gives the former name as 'Rājāā.'

Sāmba-p. 36. 39 gives the names as 'Rājan' and 'Toṣa.'

In the Avesta Rashnu ('justice') and Sraosha ('obedience') have been mentioned as divine beings and companions of Mithra.

On the other hand, in Bhav. I. 124. 3 and 7 (=Sāmba-p. 16. 26 and 31 respectively) Rudra is described as naked (nagna).

The text of Sāmba-p. 24. 5-6 runs as follows:—
anujñātaḥ sa kṛṣṇena sindhor uttara-kūlataḥ/,
jñātvā saṃtārayāmāsa candrabhāgāṃ mahānadīm//
tato mitravanaṃ gatvā tīrthaṃ trailokya-viśrutam/,
upavāsa-kṛśaḥ sāmbaḥ kṛśo dhamani-saṃtataḥ//

These verses are the same as Bhav. I. 127. 6-7. The Bhavisya-p, reads 'gatva' for 'jñātva,' and 'upavāsa-paraḥ' for 'upavāsa-kṛśaḥ.'

Candrabhaga', thence went to the famous holy place Mitravana, emaciated his body there with fasts, and eulogised the Sun, who lived in the solar orb as an extremely effulgent Purusa, comprised all gods and the universe, was the same as the Paramatman, and was able to cure all kinds of skin diseases and physical defects. The Sun was pleased to confer devotion on Samba and to cure his leprosy. He asked Samba to establish an image of the Sun on the bank of the Candrabhaga, and granted a boon that the town, thus created, would be known after Samba, and promised to appear daily to Samba in dream .- (Chap. 24). Now, once, after attaining his former physical beauty, Sāmba went, as usual, to have his bath in the Candrabhāgā which was 'not very far' from his hermitage and found that an image of the Sun was being carried by the current with its face turned upwards. Samba brought this image to his hermitage, established it in a part of Mitravana, and asked it by whom it was constructed. The image related its history in the following way. When, in times of yore, the Sun's brightness became unbearable to all creatures, he was requested by the gods to make himself endurable. Consequently, at his command Viśvakarman mended his form by placing him on a lathe in Saka-dvīpa. Afterwards Viśvakarman made this image with the Kalpa-vṛkṣa, took it to the Himalayas, and sent it down the Candrabhaga for the sake of Samba. The image assured Samba that the Sun would always remain present at that place. On hearing this from the image and seeing the Sun with his own eyes, Samba built a temple (deva-grha) for the image and approached Nārada for his advice regarding the selection of the best Brahmin priests for its worship. Nārada decried the Devalaka Brahmins of Jambu-dvīpa, because they lived on the property of the images they worshipped, denounced the Manava Sastra (the Code of Manu),21 and were degraded (patita) and excommunicated (apānkteya). He advised Samba to take recourse to the Sun for the purpose. Samba did so; and the Sun was pleased to advise him to bring the Magas

²¹ Cf. Sāmba-p. 26. 23b—garhitam mānavam śāstram na praśamsanti te dvijāh. This line does not occur in the Bhavisya-p. It is highly probable that in this line the original reading for 'garhitam' was 'garhanti.'

from Sāka-dvīpa which was situated on the other side of the salt-ocean and was encircled by the ocean of milk, and where the people were divided into four castes, viz., Maga, Māmaga, Mānasa and Mandaga²² corresponding respectively to the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras of Jambu-dvīpa but having no mixed caste among them. The people of Sāka-dvīpa, who were born of the Sun's energy (tejas) and to whom the four Vedas were given by the Sun, worshipped the Sun by citing Vedic hymns and wore Avyangas.²³ The image added that the Sun was worshipped as Viṣṇu in Śveta-dvīpa, as Maheśvara in Kuśa-dvīpa, as Brahmā in Puṣkara-dvīpa, and as Bhāskara in Sāka-dvīpa. Being thus advised by the image Sāmba saw his father at Dvāravatī, mounted Garuḍa and went to Sāka-dvīpa, whence he brought to Mitravana on the bank of the Candrabhāgā eighteen families of Magas, who worshipped the Sun and performed śānti-bomas for the people.—(Chap. 26).

22. Sāmba-p. 26. 30-31.

The text of these verses, as given by Nagendra Nath Vasu in his Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 9, has 'Masaga' for 'Māmaga.'

In Bhav. (Venkat. ed.) I. 139. 74-75 the names of these four castes of Śākadvipa are given as Maga, Magaga, Gānaga (or Mānasa) and Mandaga. These verses, as quoted by Nagendra Nath Vasu (in his Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 9), give the names as Maga, Masaga, Mānasa and Mandaga (or Mandaśa); while according to Aufrecht's Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p. the names are Maga, Magasa, Mānasa and Mandaga (see Bod. Cat., p. 33).

Mahābhārata VI (Bhiṣma-parvan). 11. 36-38 have the names as Maga (or Maṅga), Maśaka, Mānasa and Mandaga; Viṣṇu-p. II. 4. 69-70 have them as Mṛga (but 'Maga' in some Mss), Māgadha, Mānasa and Mandaga; and the Brahma-p., which incorporates many of the chapters of the Viṣṇu-p. including chap. 4 of Viṣṇu-p. II, gives the names as Maga, Māgadha, Mānasa and Mandaga (see Brahma-p. 20. 71).

One of the Mss of the Samba-p. described by Haraprasad Shastri has Maga, Magasa, Manasa and Mandaga (see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 753, No. 4092).

Greek historians, such as Herodotus and Strabo, mention the warlike Massagetae as living in Sakitai with other clans. So, the Massagetae seem to be the same as the 'Masaga' or 'Maśaka' Kṣatriyas of Śāka-dvīpa.

23 Avyanga is a girdle originally worn by the Magi priests of ancient Persia. In the Avesta it is called Aivyaonghen.

The Sun's girdle is called 'aviyānga' in Viṣṇudh, III. 67. 3b (kartavyā raśanā cāsya yāviyāngeti saṃjñítā).

The above-mentioned story of Sāmba's establishing an image of the Sun at Sāmbapura in Mitravana and his settling of eighteen families of Magi priests from Sāka-dvīpa for the regular worship of this image forms the nucleus of the Sāmba-p., and in connection with this main story, a few subsidiary stories of interest have been introduced into this Purāṇa for the glorification of the Sun. For instance, there are the stories of Saṃjñā's penance in the Northern Kuru country and of Viśvakarman's paring of the Sun's rays by means of a lathe. Of these, the former is narrated in Sāmba-p., chaps. 10-11 as follows.

Brahma's son Marīci had a son named Kaśyapa and a daughter named Surūpā. Kaśyapa's son (on Diti) was Hiranyakaśipu, whose son was Prahlada. Prahlada had a son named Virocana and a daughter named Prahladi. This Prahladi was married to Viśvakarman, who was the son of Bhuvani, daughter of Surupa. The Sun's wife Rajni, who is said to be the same as Dyauh, was born to Prāhlādī under the name of Samjña or Sarenu.24 The Sun took a human form in order to have physical union with Samjña,25 and begot on her two sons, namely Vaivasvata Manu and Yama Śrāddha-deva, and a daughter named Yamī or Kālindī. Now, Samjñā could no longer stand the heat and brilliance of the Sun. She secretly created from her own body a female named Chāyā (called to be the same as Niksubhā, who, again, is identified with Prthivi), requested her to attend the Sun and look after Manu, Yama and Yami, and went to her father's house. lived there for one thousand years; and, being repeatedly asked by her father to return to her husband, she took the form of a mare and went to the Northern Kuru country. During Samjña's absence Chaya,

²⁴ Sāmba-p. 10. 17b (sareņur iti vikhyātā etc.). This line, as occurring in the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 79. 17b) and the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 11. 65b), reads 'sureņuḥ' for 'sareņuḥ'.

²⁵ Sāmba-p. 10. 19c reads 'rantum vai nara-rūpeņa sūryo bhavati vai purā,' This line, as occurring in the Bhaviṣya (I. 79. 20a) and the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 11. 79a), reads 'na tu tām nara-rūpeṇa sūryo ('bhāryām' according to the Skanda-p.) bhajati vai purā.'

The text of this line, as given by the Sāmba-p., is obviously wrong. Cf. Sāmba-p. 11. 4b-5a (golākāram tu tadrūpam dṛṣṭvā samjñā vivasvataḥ/asahantī tu tat tejaḥ svām chāyām preṣya cābravīt//),

who resembled Samjñā fully, attended the Sun as his wife and gave birth to two sons named Srutaśravas and Srutakarman (of whom the former was destined to be known as Savarni Manu and the latter became the planet Sanaiscara later on) and a daughter named Tapatī. Now, Chāyā was so partial to her own children that Yama could not tolerate it. Once he threatened Chāyā with his foot (pādena saṃtarjayamasa) and was cursed by her that his foot would fall down without fail. Being afflicted in mind Yama approached the Sun with Manu and informed him of the whole matter. The Sun first minimised the severity of the curse by ordaining that worms would fall to the ground after taking flesh from his feet, and then asked Chaya the cause of her differential treatment towards the children. But as Chaya remained silent, the Sun understood the whole situation through meditation and was about to curse Chāyā, when the latter related the whole mattter to the Sun. Being thus informed of the whole situation, the Sun approached his father-in-law Viśvakarman in rage; but the latter told him that being unable to bear the extreme brightness of his form, Samjña went to a grassy wood in the Northern Kuru country and was practising severe penance there for an endurable figure of the Sun (cf. rūpārtham bhavato 'raņye carantī sumahat tapaḥ). Viśvakarman then intimated to the Sun that he was ready to act up to Brahma's proposal of paring the Sun's figure, only if the latter gave his consent. The sun agreed to it gladly and had his rays cut down by means of a lathe. The Sun then met Samjñā in the Northern Kuru country in the form of a horse and had physical union with her. As a result of this union, the two Aśvins, named Nāsatya and Dasra, were born. The Sun had another son born of the earth. This son, who was named Raivata (or Revanta),26 had the body of a horse and was armed with a bow and arrows. Yama ruled over the creation with justice and became Dharmaraja; Manu became a ruler and the progenitor of the line of Ikṣvāku; Yamī was transformed into the river Yamunā; Savarni Manu was destined to become a ruler in future; Sanaiscara

²⁶ The name is given as 'Raivata' and 'Revanta' in the Sāmba-p., but in the Bhaviṣya-p. it is given as 'Raivata', 'Revata' and 'Revanta' (see Bhav. I. 79, verses 59, 63, 79; I. 124. 31). In Viṣṇudh, III. 67, 9 the name is given as 'Revanta.'

became a planet; Tapatī, who became the wife of king Samvaraṇa, was turned into a river of the same name in the Vindhya mountain; the Aśvins became the divine physicians; and Revanta became a noble and sanctifying deity easy to please.

The story of Viśvakarman's paring of the Sun's rays by means of a lathe is briefly this:—

As Samjña went to her father's house and then practised austerities (in the Northern Kuru country), the Sun became favourably inclined towards her and intended to fulfil her desires. In the meantime Brahma, being requested by the sages to save the creation from the trouble caused by the burning rays of the Sun, approached the Sun with other gods and Prajapatis and asked him to have his figure carved out by Viśvakarman. At Brahmā's request Viśvakarman placed the Sun, with the latter's consent, on a lathe and pared his rays up to the knees. While the Sun's body was thus being cut out 'for the creation of the seasons of frost, heat and water', Brahma, Visnu, Rudra, Indra, Viśvakarman and other gods, as well as the sages (viz., Bālakhilyas, Viśvāmitra and others), Vidyādharas, Nāgas etc. eulogised the Sun, and the Gandharvas (well versed in the three gramas, viz., ṣadja, madhyama and gāndhāra) and Apsarases etc. honoured the Sun with songs, dances and musical concerts. With the rays thus mopped off Viśvakarman made a disc for Visnu and various missiles for other gods. The Purana adds that as the Sun's rays were pared up to his knees, his feet are always kept under a cover .- (Chaps. 12-15).

Another story may be mentioned here.

Once Brahmā and other gods found out that it was only through the boons of the compassionate Sun that the demons became powerful enough to trouble the gods. So, they decided to be devoted to the Sun and to surrround him in such a way that the demons might not see him. Accordingly, Indra stood, under the name of Daṇḍanāyaka,²⁷ on the left side of the Sun and was engaged by the latter to rule over the world with his daṇḍa (sceptre) and nīti (science of politics); Agni, who took his stand on the right side of the Sun, was known as Pingala due to his tawny colour and was engaged in record-

ing the good and bad deeds of all creatures; the two Aśvins stood on two sides of the Sun; Karttikeya and Hara stood 'at the eastern gate' under the names of Rājña and Stoṣa respectively28; Yama and Garuda assumed the names of Kalmasa and Paksin respectively (because the former was kalmasa i.e. variegated, and the latter had wings) and stood, with two asses,29 at the gate, which was thus rendered inaccessible; on the south, stood Citragupta (the officer of Yama) and Kāla under the names of Jāndakāra and Māṭhara³⁰ respectively; on the west, stood Varuna and Sagara under the names of Prāpnuyāna and Ksutāpa³¹ respectively; on the north, stood Kuvera and Vināyaka, the latter having the form of an elephant; and on the east, stood Revanta, and Rudra under the name of Dindi. Thus the Sun's attendants were 'eighteen in number'. In order to prevent the demons these attendants as well as the Vedic hymns assumed various forms and surrounded the Sun with missiles in their hands .- (Sambap. 16. 1-24).

- 28 Sāmba-p. 16. 8a reads 'pūrva-dvāre sthitau tasya rājña-stoṣau mahābalau'; but in the corresponding line the Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'dvāra-pālau sthitau tasya rājñaḥ śreṣṭhau mahābalau' (see Bhav. I. 124. 21a), there being no mention of 'pūrva-dvāra.' The reading 'rājñaḥ śreṣṭhau' of the Bhaviṣya-p. is obviously wrong. Cf. Bhav. I. 124. 22-24 where the derivative meanings of 'Rājña' and 'Stoṣa' (and not 'śreṣṭha') are given. See also Bhav. I. 130. 52b.
- 29 Sāmba-p. 16. 11a reads 'kharam hi duratikrāntam kṛtvā dvāram vyava-sthitau,' but Sāmba-p. 16. 21a reads 'sakharadvārikau jñeyau rājña-stoṣau tataḥ sthitau.' With whomsoever the 'khara' (ass) may be connected, it is clear that the asses were there.

The Bhavisya-p. has these two lines as follows:—'dvitīyāyām tu kakṣāyām apradhṛṣṭau vyavasthitau' and 'tau sūrya-dvārapau jñeyau rājña-srauṣau tataḥ smṛṭau' (see Bhav. I. 124. 25b and 35b).

- 30 The name 'Māthara', which may have been derived from the Avestan Māthra, is found in the Bhavisya-p. (I. 53. 1), but the name 'Jāndakāra,' which also seems to have an Avestan origin, does not occur in the Bhavisya.
- 31 These two names are given respectively as 'Prāpnuyāna' and 'Kṣatāya' in Sāmba-p. 16. 16a, as 'Prāpnuyāna' and 'Kṣutāpa' in Sāmba-p. 16. 16b and 20a, and as 'Prāpnuyān' and 'Nukṣutāya' in Sāmba-p. 29. 20a.

The Bhavisya-p, does not contain these names.

In Sāmba-p. 16 (verses 25-35) and 17, the story of Dindi is narrated as follows:—

After tearing away Brahma's head, Rudra took the skull in his hand and went naked to Daruvana for practising penance. At the sight of Rudra, the minds of the wives and daughters of the sages residing there became agitated. So, the sages drove Rudra away from that place. Rudra thence went to the Solar region, where the Sun's chief attendants advised him to take recourse to the Sun for getting rid of the sin committed. Rudra did so and eulogised the Sun, the result being that he became purified and was given the name 'Dindi'. The Sun advised Rudra to live in a highly sacred place on earth where he himself would live with him in company with his eighteen chief attendants as well as fourteen others. The Sun also conferred divine knowledge on Rudra, gave the name of Avimukta-ksetra to the place where Rudra practised austerities for attaining the Sun's favour, and assured Rudra that those people, who would bow down to Rudra and the Sun at that place having the measurement of a krośa, would become sinless.

Besides these stories, there are also others which are no less interesting and important than those already mentioned. For instance, in chaps. 42-43 the story of the establishment of the Sun's image in the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean is given as follows:—

'After Sāmba had brought the Yājakas and had a temple constructed for the Sun', the gods, sages, Siddhas, men and others heard of 'Mitravana' (Mitra's forest) and at once came to this 'penance-forest' (tapovana) which was situated on the shore of the salt-ocean and was made by Viśvakarman. Being thanked by Nārada for enabling him to see the Sun's 'penance-forest' (tapovana) which was furnished with an eternal image of this god, Sāmba approached the Sun and was advised by the latter not to be proud of his glorious deed. Moreover, the Sun narrated the story that in ancient times some sages performed austerities there for many centuries, became the creators of this place through the Sun's favour, and thereby attained great fame for a Manvantara. Now, once the sages, Siddhas, Gandharvas and others, who lived in the Sun's penance-forest (tapovana, also called Sūrya-

kanana) situated on the shore of the salt-ocean and worshipped him in various ways, stood in wait for his rise, eulogising him all the while. At dawn they were surprised to see that the Sun made the ocean, the sky and the earth red by means of his rays and appeared simultaneously in the sky and in the ocean. There was yet another form of the Sun which remained in water. Manus recovered it by entering the ocean, placed it in the 'tapovana', and cited hymns in its praise. On Manus' enquiry as to who constructed it and how it came to that place the image replied that after being constructed by Viśvakarman and worshipped by the gods for the good of the world, it was placed on the Kalpavrksa in the Himalayas, whence it passed successively through the rivers Candrabhāgā, Vaipāśa, Sātadrava, Yamunā, Jāhnavī (also called Bhāgīrathī) and Modagangā³² until it reached the salt-ocean. The image also asked Manus to establish itself. Consequently, Vaivasvata Manu had a temple built for it, and the gods eulogised it, named it as Mundita and Mundira after being initiated by it to Sun-worship, and established the Sun in three (?) different places.33

In chap. 45 the story of the origin of shoes and umbrellas is narrated thus:—

Once Jamadagni began to shoot arrows playfully, and his wife Renukā was engaged in collecting them. When, at mid day, the earth became extremely hot due to the burning rays of the Sun, Renukā delayed in fetching the arrows thrown by Jamadagni. Understanding Renukā's difficulties Jamadagni became so angry with the Sun that the latter appeared before the former in the form of a Brahmin and appeared him by handing over a pair of shoes and an umbrella for Renukā's use.

It is needless to repeat that the present edition of the Samba-p. is full of mistakes.

³² The reading 'modagangā-mahānadau' in Sāmba-p. 43. 32b (bhāgirathito vijneyā modagangā-mahānadau) is obviously wrong. It should be 'modagangā mahānadī.' Cf. the adjective 'vijneyā' and also the line 'tasmād vai modagangāyāḥ praviṣṭā lavaṇodadhim' (Sāmba-p. 43. 33b) which shows that from the Modagangā the Sun's image did not pass into any other river before entering the sea.

³³ Cf. sthāpayitvā ravim bhaktyā triḥsthāneşu surottamāḥ.—Sāmba-p. 43. 36b.

In addition to the above-mentioned stories, the following topics have been introduced into this Purāṇa for the effective glorification of the Sun:—

The Sun's creation of Prajapatis and various kinds of creatures in the form and capacity of Brahma, and his division of himself into twelve parts and birth from Aditi as twelve Adityas, viz., Indra. Dhatr, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣtr, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣnu, Amśu, Varuna and Mitra, of whom Indra ruled over the gods, Dhātr became a Prajapati and created beings, Parjanya remained in clouds, Pūsan resided in food and nourished the created beings, Tvastr remained in trees, plants and herbs, Aryaman resided in the bodies of animals for facilitating the movement of air, Bhaga remained in the earth as well as in bodies, Vivasvat dwelt in fire and helped digestion, Visnu, the ninth form of Citrabhanu, 34 became the slayer of the enemies of gods, Amsuman resided in air and gladdened the creatures, Varuna resided in water contained in the sea and enlivened the whole world which depends on water, and Mitra, the twelfth from of the Sun (Bhanu), resided on the bank of the Candrasarit for the good of the world, performed austerities there by living on air, and favoured his devotees with boons, this original place of Mitra's residence being known as Mitravana, which was later on developed into a town by Samba (paścāt sāmbena nirmitam). —(Chap. 4). The origin of the visible Sun, with its shooting rays, from the Egg brought forth by Aditi; the dimension of the Sun; the names and functions of its rays in general; the names and functions of its seven principal rays and their connection with the stars and planets, which are said to have originated from the Sun; and the way in which the Sun fills the universe with its rays. - (Chap. 7). The Sun as the original source and the main stay of the universe; the absolute necessity of the Sun for the measurement of time, the performance of Vedic sacrifices, and the growth of the vegetable world; and the different auspicious colours of the Sun during the different seasons. —(Chap. 8). The twelve common names

³⁴ The text reads 'Mitrabhānu' (Sāmba-p. 4. 16a). But this reading is erroneous. Cf. Sāmba-p. 9. 2 and Bhaviṣya-p. I. 74. 18a and 78. 55a (corresponding to Sāmba-p. 4. 16a and 9. 2 respectively), in which 'Citrabhānu' is given as a name for the Sun.

of the Sun (viz., Aditya, Savitr, Sūrya, Mihira, Arka, Prabhākara, Mārtanda, Bhāskara, Bhānu, Citrabhānu, Divākara and Ravi), the names of the twelve Adityas (viz., Viṣṇu, Dhātṛ, Bhaga, Pūṣan, Mitra, Indra, Varuna, Aryaman,35 Vivasvat, Amsumat, Tvastr and Parjanya), the the different months in which these twelve Adityas shine, and the numbers of their rays. —(Chap. 9). The evolution of the universe according to the principles of the Samkhya system, and the appearance of the Supreme Being (îśvaram param) as a luminary (called Savitr) at the prayer of Brahma, Visnu, Mahesvara and others who were all confused by darkness. - (Chap. 14). The origin of Vyoman (which is called 'sarva-devamaya', 'sarva-bhūtamaya' and 'sarva-śrutimaya' and whose worship is said to be equivalent to the worship of all gods) from the space of the Cosmic Egg and of the four-peaked Meru, which, like the pericarp of a lotus, formed the centre of the earth, round which the Sun moved in his chariot, and which was resorted to by the thirty-three sacrificing gods (viz., eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, eight Vasus, and two Aśvins, whose names also are given); the names of the fourteen Manus, the fourteen Indras and the Viśvedevas living during the reigns of these Manus, the seven Maruts (from whom forty-nine Maruts arose), the three Fires (whose sons and grandsons were forty in number), the different kinds of years, the nine planets (with the mention of their nature, their origin, their relative position, their dimensions, and their distance from the earth),36 the seven

35 Sāmba-p. 9. 3b wrongly reads 'varuņo yamaḥ' for 'varuņo 'ryamā.' In its corresponding line the Bhavisya-p. (I. 78. 56a) has the latter reading. See also Sāmba-p. 9. 5b and 9a for the name 'Aryaman.'

36 The names of the nine planets are the following: - Aditya, Soma, Lohitānga, Budha, Brhaspati, Sukra, Sanaiścara, Rāhu and Dhūmaketu. Of these, Aditya and Soma are called mandala-graha, Rāhu is called chāyā-graha, and the rest tārā-graha. Soma is chief of the nakṣatras (nakṣatrādhipati), and the Sun is graha-rāja. Among the planets the Sun occupies the lowest position (sarveṣāṃ tu grahāṇām vai hy adhastāc carate raviķ—18. 48b), and above it the other planets and the different mandalas are situated, one above the other, in the following order: —-Soma, (nakṣatra-maṇḍala), Budha, Bhārgava, Aṅgāraka, Bṛhaspati, Sanaiścara, (ṛṣi-maṇḍala), and (Dhruva); Rāhu moves mostly in the Adityamandala but sometimes traverses the path of Soma (āditya-nilaye rāhuḥ kadācit soma-mārgagaḥ-18. 51b); and Ketu always remains in the Sūrya-maṇḍala. The

lokas (viz., bhūh, bhuvah, svah, mahah etc., which are said to be contained in Vyoman), and the eight classes of demi-gods .- (Chap. 18.). Geography of the earth (its seven dvipas, the seven oceans, the varsa mountains, etc.), the names of the fourteen lokas, the measurement of the mountain Meru (which is said to be golden and to be situated at the centre of the earth), and the names37. and description of its four peaks .- (Chap. 19). The towns surrounding the Meru³⁸; the speed with which the Sun goes round the Meru; and the names of the different gods who worshipped the Sun at different times .- (Chap. 20). Description of the Sun's one-wheeled chariot, of which the different divisions of time were the component parts, and which was drawn by the seven metres (viz., Gayatri, Tristubh, Jagatī, Anustubh, Pankti, Brhatī and Usnij) in the forms of seven horses and was attended by the gods, Adityas, sages, Gandharvas, Apsarases, snakes, Rāksasas etc.; the names of those gods, Adityas, and others who, with their followers, attended the Sun's chariot in the different seasons of the year (the spring season consisting of Caitra and Vaisākha); and the way in which the Sun nourished

dimension (vistāra) of the Sun is 9000 yojanas, and the measurement of its maṇḍala is thrice its dimension; the dimension (vistāra) of the Moon is twice that of the Sun, and its maṇḍala is thrice its dimension; the dimension of Bhārgava (i.e. Sukra) is one sixteenth of that of the Moon, the dimension of Bṛhaspati is less by one fourth than that of Bhārgava; the dimension of Kuja (i.e. Maṇgala) is less by one fourth than that of Bṛhaspati; and the dimension of Budha is less by one fourth than that of Kuja. The ṛkṣas (stars) have generally the same dimension as that of Budha, and there is no star having a dimension less than half a yojana. Rāhu is equal in dimension to the Sun, but the expanse of Ketu is not fixed (aniyataḥ).—Sāmba-p. 18. 41ff.

It should be noted here that Samba-p., chap. 18 has many verses in common with Devi-p., chaps. 46 and 47.

- 37 The names of the four peaks of the Meru are the following:—Saumanasa (which is golden), Jyotiska (which has the colour of rubies), Citra (which abounds in all kinds of metals), and Cāndramasa (which is white and silvery).—Sāmba-p. 19, 20ff.
- 38 Amarāvatī (capital of Indra) was situated on the east of the Meru, Yamanī (the city of Yama) on its south, Sukhā (the city of Varuṇa) on its west, and Vibhāvatī (the city of Soma) on its north.—Sāmba-p. 20. 21ff.

the gods and Pitrs with nectar communicated through the moon developed by his ray called Suṣumnā, and men and other creatures by means of water drawn up with his rays and poured down as rain. -(Chap. 21). Consumption of fifteen digits of the moon by the gods and Pitrs during the dark half of the month; the moon's entrance, with its sixteenth digit, into the Sun in the morning, into trees and planets at mid-day, and into water in the evening during the newmoon day, and its nourishment by the Sun during the bright half of the month; the names of two kinds of Paurnamasi and Amavasya; and the names of the gods who consume fourteen digits of the moon during the dark half of the month.—(Chap. 22), Description of solar eclipse, in which the Sun is not really eaten up by Rāhu (who is described as 'tamomaya'), but the fact is that when on a new-moon day (amāvāsyā) Rāhu approaches the Sun for having his share of nectar from the moon which enters the Sun on that day, he covers the Sun as well as the moon which intervenes between the Sun and Rāhu;39 description of lunar eclipse, during which Rāhu approaches the moon on the full-moon day (pūrņimā) with the same purpose and covers it with the shadow of the earth.—(Chap. 23). Description of the Magas as those who used to meditate on the syllable 'म', and of the Yājakas as those who worshipped the Sun by burning incense, offering garlands and various other articles, and muttering mantras, the aim of the Magas and the Yajakas being the attainment of final emancipation (mokṣa) through service (karma-yoga) to the Sun who resides in the phenomenal Sun and is both 'sakala' and 'niskala'.-(Chap. 27). Acquirement of jñana through the practice of yoga (which consists of prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, pratyāhāra and dhyāna); attainment of Sūrya-mandala (solar region) through yoga by those who are given to Traividya-siddhanta as well as by those who are versed in Sūrya-siddhānta (also called Āditya-siddhānta).—(Chap. 28). Characteristics of the Sun's images.40 Construction of Sun-temples, in

Cf. 'ataś chādayate rāhur abhravac chaśi-bhāskarau' (Sāmba-p. 23. 33a), and 'adho rāhuḥ paraḥ somaḥ somād ūrdhvaṃ divākaraḥ' (Sāmba-p. 23. 32a),

⁴⁰ It has already been noted that in connection with the description of the characteristics of the Sun's images the Samba-p. (29. 2-3a, 5b and 6b) says, "In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun); the Sun was worshipped in a

connection with which the following topics have been dealt with:—selection and preparation of the site for the temple; placing of the Sun's image with its face turned very often towards the east and in rare cases towards the west; position of the snāna-gṛha and the agnihotra-gṛha; and position of Sambhu and Mātṛs, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Nikṣubhā, Rājñī, Piṅgala, Daṇḍanāyaka, Śrī and Mahāśvetā (i.e. Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī respectively), the Aśvins, Rājña and Stoṣa, Kalmāṣa and Pakṣin, Jāndaka and Māṭhara, Prāpnuyāna and Kṣutāpa, ⁴¹ Kuvera and Soma, Revanta and Vināyaka, Vyoman, and Diṇḍi. ⁴² Drawing

circle. The Sun, worshipped by his devotees in early days, was circular, just as there is the disc (of the Sun) in the sky.....No rule is (to be observed) in the case of those images which are (worshipped) in (private) houses;.....the examination of an image is to be made in case it is placed in a temple."

41 Though Sāmba-p. 29, 20a reads 'prāpnuyānnukṣutāyau', the names are Prāpnuyāna and Kṣutāpa.—See footnote 31 above.

42 The text of Samba-p. 29. 13b-24b (on the position of the Sun's attendants) is as follows:—

nityam prānmukham arkasya kadācit paścimāmukham/ sthāpanīyam grhe samyak prānmukhe sthāna-kalpanā// bhavanād daksine pārśve raveh snāna-grham smrtam/ agnihotra-grham kāryam raver uttaratah śubham// udanmukham bhavec chambhor mātrrnām ca grhottamam/ brahmā paścimatah sthāpyo visnur uttaratas tathā// niksubhā daksiņe pārśve rave rājñī tu vāmataḥ/ pingalo daksine bhanor vamato dandanayakah // śri-mahāśvetayoh sthānam purastād amśumālinah/ tataś ca aśvinau dvāri pūjā-karma-grhād bahih// dvitīyāyām tu kakṣāyām rājña-stoṣau vyavasthitau/ trtīyāyām tu kakṣāyām sthitau kalmāṣa-pakṣiṇau// jandako matharah sthapyo daksinam disam asthitau/ prāpnuyān-nukṣutāyau tu paścimām diśam āsthitau// udicyām sthāpanīyas tu kuverah soma eva ca/ uttarenaiva tābhyām tu revantah savināyakah// yad raver vidyate sthānam caturdiksu tu tatra vā/ arghāya maṇḍale dve vai kārye savyāpasavyataḥ// dadyād udaya-velāyām argham sūryāya dakṣiņe/ uttare mandale dadyād argham astam gate ravau // caturasram catuh-śrngam vyoma deva-grhagratah/ pratimā-pāda-sūtreņa kāryam madhyasya mandalam//, dindih sthapyah puras tasmad adityabhimukhas tatha//,

of three circles (mandala) for the offer of materials of worship at Sunrise, at mid-day and at Sun-set.—(Chap. 29). Seven kinds of images (so far as their materials are concerned), viz., kancani (made of gold), rājatī (made of silver), tāmrī (made of copper), pārthivī (earthen), śailajā (made of stone), vāikṣī (wooden) and ālekhyā (painted); directions about the construction of wooden images (viz., selection of trees for the construction of images; time and method of worship of the trees selected; method of cutting down the trees; effects of the fall of the trees in particular directions; heights and measurements of the different limb's of the images; dresses of the images, viz., avyanga, pada-bandha etc.; and so on). - (Chaps. 30-31). Method of consecration (of the Sun's image), which is free from Tantric elements and in which Vedic and Puranic mantras only are to be used .- (Chap. 32). Directions about the making of flags and flag-staffs for different deities (viz., Visnu, Iśvara i.e. Siva, Brahmā, Ravi, Jalādhipa i.e. Varuņa, Dhanada, Kārttikeya, Heramba i. e. Ganeśa, Devarāja, Yama and

The important variations in readings in these lines as occurring in the Bhavisya-p. (I. 130, 47b-56 and 59-60a) are the following:—

'saṃmukham' (for 'prānmukham' in line 1); 'sthāpanīyam gṛham samyak prānmukhasthānakalpanāt' (for line 2); 'nimbas tu' (for 'nikṣubhā' in line 7); 'tataḥ sthāpyāśvinoḥ sthānam pūrvadevagṛhād bahiḥ' (for line 10); 'rājñasrauṣau' (for 'rājñastoṣau' in line 11); 'jāndakāmacarau (v. l. jānukāmacarau) sthāpyau dakṣiṇām diśam āsthitau' (for line 13); 'kuvero loka-pujitaḥ' (for 'kuveraḥ soma eva ca' in line 15); 'yatra vā vidyate sthānam dikṣu sarvā guhādayaḥ' (for line 17); 'pratimāyās tu sūtreṇa kāryaṃ madhye 'sya maṇḍalam' (for line 22); line 14 (prāpnuyānnūkṣutāyau tu etc.) does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p.

It is to be noted that in Sāmba-p., chap. 16, wherein the position of the attendants of the Sun has been given, there is mention neither of Śrī and Mahāśvetā nor of Soma, and the position of the Aśvins and Revanta is different. Mahāśvetā is, however, mentioned in Sāmba-p. 32.32 and 38. 39 and Soma is included in chap. 36 (verse 41b) among the attendant deities of the Sun.

According to Viṣṇudh. III. 67 the names and position of the attendants of the Sun are as follows:—Daṇḍin (i.e. Daṇḍa-nāyaka), Dharma in the form of a lion, and the banner (dhvaja)—on the left of the Sun; Pingala—on the right; the Sun's four sons (viz., Revanta, Yama and the two Manus) as well as his four wives (viz., Rājñī, Nikṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā)—on both sides. The Sun, who is the king of planets, may also be surrounded by other planets.

Durgā), the tops of these flags being furnished with the figures (which may either be made of gold, silver or gems, or be painted) of the animals which serve as the carriers of the respective deities; method of furnishing temples with flags.—(Chap. 33). Method of performing the annual worship (sāṃvatsarī pūjā) and the annual car-festival (ratha-yātrā)⁴³ of the Sun with the use of Vedic and Purāṇic mantras (there being no Tantric element); performance of the rite for the pacification of planets (graha-śānti) in case the car was damaged while being drawn.—(Chap. 34). Mental performance of the car-festival by the devotees, who are to have their heads always shaved.—(Chap. 35). Offer of incense by raising the vesel, first to the atmospheric Sun and then to his image and his attendants and other atmospheric deities (viz., Rājñī, Nīkṣubhā, Daṇḍanāyaka, Pingala, Rājña, 44 Stoṣa, 45 Kalmāṣa, Garutmat, the quarter-deities, Diṇḍi, 46 Revanta, 47 Indra, Yama,

43 The car-festival was performed in the following way:—A car was constructed with gold, silver or hard wood, and fitted with good and well-decorated (artificial) horses. The image of the Sun was placed in it and duly worshipped with the performance of sacrifice to the Sun. The car was then drawn by men or bulls. At the end of the festival Brahmins were gratified with various kinds of food, and śānti-homa was performed.

The Sāmba-p. (34. 14-17a) says that the car of the Sun, which was originally made by Brahmā with the different divisions of a year as its component parts, and in imitation of which Viśvakarman constructed cars for other gods, was introduced in the world of mortals by Ikṣvāku to whom it was given by Vaivasvata Manu.

44-45 In Sāmba-p. 36. 39a these two names are wrongly given as Rājan and Toṣa (tato rājñe ca toṣāya kalmāṣāya garutmate) In other places of the Sāmba-p. the names Rājña and Stoṣa are found. Bhav. I. 143. 40a, which corresponds to Sāmba-p. 36.39a, gives the names as Rājña and Srauṣa (tathā rājñāya srauṣāya tatheśāya garutmate).

46-47 These two names have been given as Daṇḍin and Raivanta in Sāmba-p. 36. 40a (daṇḍine ca tato dadyād raivantānucarāya ca); but in other places of this Purāṇa the names Diṇḍi and Revanta (or Raivata) occur. Bhav. I. 143. 51a, which corresponds to Sāmba-p. 36.40a, reads 'diṇḍine tu tato dadyāddhemantāya yadūttama.' The reading 'hemantāya' is obviously a mistake for 'revantāya.'

In the Viṣṇudharmottara (III. 67. 5) it is Daṇḍanāyaka who is named as Daṇḍin,

Jaleśa i.e. Varuna, Kuvera, Soma, and others), after summoning the Sun by falling on knees, offering flowers to him on a copper vessel by muttering the Aditya-hrdaya mantra, and worshipping the Sun with the citation of Vedic and Puranic mantras .- (Chap. 36). Method of burning incense (during which a fire is to be kindled, the Sun is to be summoned with a Puranic mantra, homa is to be performed with the citation of Vedic mantras, and so on); names of the sacrificial and non-sacrificial trees, the proper time for homa, and the persons eligible for performing boma. - (Chap. 37). Results of various kinds of service rendered to the Sun (viz., worship, offer of various articles to the deity, gifts to be made to Brahmins and others, salutation, fasting, etc.); characteristics of Sūrya-bhaktas ('bhakti' and 'śraddhā' being defined as 'manaso bhāvanā bhaktir icchā śraddhā ca kathyate'); the six mediums of worship, viz., fire, water, air, holy place, image, and pedestal for the image of a deity (there being no mention of yantra and mandala).48 - (Chap. 38). Method of initiation (which requires the selection and preparation of the ground, selection of spiritual preceptors and disciples, offer of argha to the Sun with the mahāmantra, drawing of a mandala with the figure of a twelve-petalled lotus in it, performance of boma and of tattva-nyāsa and mantra-nyāsa, worship of the quarter-guardians, to some of whom fish, meat etc. are offered, and so on, the mantras used in connection with initiation having Tantric symbolism).—(Chaps. 39 and 41). The import of letters used as symbols in mantras (which have Tantric symbolism). - (Chap. 40). Sadācāra49 for the Sun-worshippers. -(Chap. 44). Methods and results of observing the seven different Saptamī Tithis, viz., Vijaya-saptamī, Kāmikā Saptamī etc., as well as

48 Sāmba-p. 38. 45—

agnau toye cāntarīkṣe śucau bhūmyām tathaiva ca/ pratimāyām tathā piṇḍyām dadyād argham prayatnataḥ//

- 49 In the section on sadācāra the following lines are noteworthy:-
 - (a) parasmin daṇḍane na icchet/kruddho 'pi na hanyāt anyatra bhāryā-putra-dāsa-dāsī-śiṣya-bhrātṛbhyaḥ/
 - (b) prātar utthāya pitaram ācāryam abhivādayet/
 - (c) vṛddho 'gatir avasanno mitrāṇi śuka-sārikāḥ/ pārāvatāḥ puṇyakṛtāṃ gehe syus tailapāyikāḥ//.

the twelve Sukla Saptamīs.—(Chap. 46). Method of Sun-worship with the performance of nyāsas and mudrās and the citation of mantras which have Tantric symbolism; method of performance of different kinds of mudrās; dissertation on the formation and import of bījas used in mantras (with classification of all the letters of the alphabet); performance of abhicāra; rites to be performed at the time of saṃnyāsa; method of practising yoga; and so on.—(Chaps. 47-83). Results of actions (karma-vipāka); gifts to be made to the reader (pāṭhaka) of the Sāmba-p. for the pleasure of the Sun.—(Chap. 84).

Besides the above-mentioned topics the Samba-p. contains a number of hymns (stava) in praise of the Sun.⁵⁰ It also contains the etymological meanings of the following:—

- (1) The epithets Āditya, Aja, Mahādeva, Īśvara, Brahmā, Bhava, Prajāpati, Puruṣa, Svayaṃbhū, Hiraṇyagarbha and Nārāyaṇa as applied to the Sun (chap. 7, verses 16-21),
- (2) the Sun's twelve common names⁵¹ (except Mihira and Ravi), the names of the twelve Ādityas,⁵² and the names Sakra, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Rudra and Kāla as applied to the Sun for his different functions (chap. 9, verses 15ff.),
- (3) the names Rājñī and Nikṣubhā for the Sun's two wives (chap. 11, verses 54-57), and
- (4) the names Rājña, Stoṣa, Jāndakāra and Māṭhara for four of the Sun's attendants (chap. 16, verses 9-10 and 14-15).

The above contents of the present Sāmba-p. show that the Purāṇa is pre-eminently a work of the Sauras whose sectarian mantra is 'khakholkāya namaḥ'. Herein the Sun is called the highest deity and the Supreme Brahma. He is both the individual and the supreme soul and is both one and many. While residing as kṣetrajña in the material body this Supreme Being, who is both personal and imper-

⁵⁰ Sāmba-p. 12. 13ff.; 13. 3ff. (eulogy of Viśvakarman); 15. 7ff.; 17. 1ff. (the 'great hymn' pronounced by Rudra in the form of Dindi); 25. 5-8 (the 'stava-rāja' consisting of the twenty-one principal names of the Sun, viz., Vikartana, Brahmā, Śrīmān etc.).

⁵¹ These are Āditya, Savitṛ, Sūrya, Mihira etc., as enumerated above.

⁵² These names (Viṣṇu, Dhātṛ, Bhaga, Pūṣan etc.) have been mentioned above.

sonal, remains formless and is not contaminated by actions or influenced by the objects of senses. When transcending the three gunas he is called Purusa. It is he who is worshipped in different forms by gods and by men in the different stages of their life, and who pervades the universe and is its protector and regulator.53

The present Samba-p., with its varied contents, is certainly not a unified work. Its chapters can be divided into two main groups, viz.,

- I. Chaps. 1-38, 44-46 and 84; and
- Chaps. 39-43 and 47-83.

That the chapters of these two groups were composed by different hands in different climes and ages, can be established by numerous evidences, the most important of which are noted below.

(1) All the chapters of the first group, except chaps. 17, 22-23 and 37, are found to occur, partly or wholly, in the Bhavisya-p., as the following list will show. (It is to be noted that not even a single verse of any of the chapters of the second group is found in the Bhavisya-p.).

Sāmba-p. Bhavisya-p. Chap. 2 (except verse 21b) = I. 66, verses 42-46, 49-632. 3 (except verses 10-12, = I. 72, verses 3, 6-14a; I. 73, 26-27, 30b, 31b-32a, verses 1, 2b-10a, 14-24a, 25-41a, 52b, 56) 43b-45, 49-50. = I. 74, verses 1-4, 7-24, 26a, 4 28b-29. 5 (except verses 1-9a, = 1. 67, verses 3-6a, 7b-10, 12b-15, ,, 21a, 26a, 30b-39) 25b-32a. 6 (except verse 12b) = I. 75, verses 1, 3a, 4-6a, 7a, 10-13, 16-17; I. 76, verses 1-5a, 6b-8a, 10b-15. 7 (except verses 37, 62b-71)=I. 76. 16b-20a; I. 77. 1-21;

I. 78. 1-24a, 25b-41a.

8 (except verse 13b, and = I. 54. 2-14 (except the fourth second half of verse 13a) pada of verse 14).

See Samba-p., chaps. 5, 7, 9, 14, and so on. 53

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Bhavisya-p.
     Sāmba-p.
Chap. 8 (except verses 11b-13) = 1.78.43b-53b.
     8, verses 1-4a, 5, 6b-7 = 1. 161. 2-5 and 6b-7.
     9(except verses 11a,15-43) = 1.78.53b-66,67-69,71-73,75-84a.
                             = I. 79. 1-22a.
    11 (except verses 2-12a, = 1.79.23, 24-58, 63a, 64-79a,
                                   78b-81a, 82b-83a.
        39, 48b-50, 70)
                             = I. 124. 32a.
    II, verse 51a
    12 (except verses 3, 20a) = 1. 121. 1-13, 15b-19a, 20b-28.
   13 (except verses 9b-11) = I. 122 (except verses 8b-9).
    14 (except verses 17b, 21) = 1. 123. 1-19, 21b-22, 23b-34.
    15 (except verses 16, 26) = I. 123. 36-40a, 41a, 42a, 43b-44a,
                                  45-46a, 53-56a, 46b-49a, 51a,
                                   56b-57, 58-66a.
    16 (except verses 14-16, = 1. 124. 1-10, 13-15a, 16 24a,
       19b-20a, 33)
                                   25b-28, 31, 34-38, 40.
    18 (except verses 2b-8, = I. 125. 2, 4, 7-25a, 26b-38a,
       202, 32)
                                   39-63a, 64b-71.
   19 (except verses 2-3, 15a) = 1. 126. 1, 3-6a, 7-9a, 10b-28.
    20 (except verses 1-4, 7b-8, = I. 53. 35b-44, 45b-51a.
        15-16)
    21 (except verses 4b, 29a, = I. 52. 8-23, 24b-25a, 28-45a,
       38b-39, 40b, 42b, 52- 46-49a; I.53. 10-13a, 21-35a.
       53, 58)
   24 (except verses 17b, = 1.127.3-9, 10b-27a, 28-29a, 30-
       34b-36a)
                                  36a.
                            = I. 128.
   25
   26 (except verses 15, 22b- = 1. 129. 1-2, 4, 6a, 7b-17a;
       23, 50a)
                                I. 139. 1-9a, 10b (first half), 70a
                                  (second half), 70b-81, 83-97.
   27 (except verses 5, 19a)
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= I. 140. 20-23; I. 144. 9b-16a,

= I. 145. 2-7, 8b-21, 22b-24, 26,

17-24, 25b-26.

25, 27.

29 (except verses 1-7, 20a) = I. 130. 42-56, 59-60a, 63b.

Sāmba-p.

,, 33

Bhavisya-p.

Chap. 30(except verses 28b-29 = I. 131. 1a, 2-3a, 10b-13a, 5-10a, and 316) 19-20, 23-26, 27b-30, 36-41, 46-47.

,, 31 = I. 132. 1-24.

,, 32 (except verses 13, 36b, = I. 133. 1a; I. 135. 6b-8, 9b-16, 39a, 43-44, 49-50a, 20b.27a, 51-52a; I. 136. 2-7a, and 62) 9b-11a, 25b-26a, 37b-52a, 67-73, 75b-79a, 82; I. 137. 1-2.

= I. 138. 1a, 2-4, 21b-22a, 34a, 35-36a, 37-38a, 53a, 40b, 47, 39a, 41b, 64-69a, 70a, 71a, 72a, 73a, 76.

,, 34 (except verses 1-3, = 1. 55. 23b-25, 28b-29a, 30b, 10b, 72) 31b-32, 36b-37a, 39a, 48b-50a, 51-54a, 55b-65a, 66b-75; I. 56. 7b-29a, 30-31, 47-51a; I. 57. 27b, 31a; I. 58. 1a, 2, 18-20a.

35 (except verses 1b, 2b) = I. 58. 22b, 23-29, 30b-31a, 32b-37a, 38-45.

36 (except verses 1, 4b, = I. 143. 5b-13, 14b-41a, 46-10b-11a, 30, 40b-44) 55a.

38 (except verses 1-3a, = I. 80. 2, 9-11, 14, 16-18; I.81. 4b-16a, 21a, 24-26a, 2-3, 15b-16a; I. 82. 3a, 6a; I. 33-35a, 36b-39, 40b- 93. 1, 3-5a, 7, 9a, 15b-16a, 46a, 47b-48a, 50, 52b, 26a, 28, 30, 32a, 42a, 64, 55b-56) 66.

46 (except verses 1-3a, 4b-5a, = I. 208. 6, 4-5, 7-16a, 17-18a, 9b, 22b-23a, 25b-26a, 21-23a, 24a, 23b, 27a, 28-35; 27b-28a, 38-39) I. 209. 1-5a, 6b-12a, 13b-14a, 15b-16a.

,, 84, verses 1-2a, 3 = I. 120. 1a, 2b-3a, 4.

We shall see hereinafter that the Bhavisya-p. borrowed these chapters from the Samba-p.

(2) The chapters of the first group are concerned with 'Mitravana' which is said in a good number of verses to have been situated on (or very close to) the bank of the 'great river' (mahānadī) Candrabhāgā⁵⁴, a tributary of the river Sindhu in the Punjab, and in which Sāmba established a Sun-temple and the city called Sāmbapura (modern Multan).⁵⁵

The expression 'sindhor uttara-kūlataḥ', occurring in Sāmba-p. 24. 5-6⁵⁶ which are the same as Bhav. I. 127. 6-7, must not be taken to indicate that Mitravana, mentioned in the chapters of the first group, was situated on the northern shore of the sea and was, therefore, identical with Mitravana in Orissa; because, in the chapters of the first group there is no second mention of Mitravana as being situated on the sea-coast. Moreover, in Sāmba-p. 26. 10b-12⁵⁷ (which are the same as Bhav. I. 129. 13b-15) it is said that the image of the Sun, which was constructed by Viśvakarman with the Kalpa-vṛkṣa, was taken by him to the Himalayas and sent down the river Candrabhāgā, so that it might reach Sāmba who was living in Mitravana. Here it is clear that the Candrabhāgā rises in the Himalayas and is thus the same as the Candrabhāgā which is a tributary of the river Sindhu. So, Mitravana, which is said to have

55 See the references in the immediately preceding foot-note.

prītyā te sāmpratam caiva sā mayā kāritam punah//
teneyam kalpa-vṛkṣāt tu nirmitā pratimā mama/
kṛtvā himavatah pṛṣṭhe puṇya-siddha-niṣevite//
tvadartham candrabhāgāyām tatas tenāvatāritā/
bhavatas tāraṇārtham hi jātam sthānam idam mama//

The Bhavişya-p, reads 'kṛtvā teṣām prapañco 'yam sa mayā kāritah punah' for the first line; 'viśvakarmaṇā' for 'pratimā mama' in the second line; 'purā' for 'puṇya' in the third line; 'pratāritā' for 'avatāritā' in the fourth line; 'tataḥ' for 'jātam' in the fifth line.

⁵⁴ Sāmba-p. 3, 2 (=Bhav. I. 72. 6); 4. I-2a (=Bhav. I. 74. I-2a); 4. 20 and 23 (=Bhav. I. 74. 22 and 24 respectively; in verse 24 the Bhavisya-p. wrongly reads 'mitrapadam' for 'mitravanam'); 24. 5-6 (=Bhav. I. 127. 6-7); 24. 31 (=Bhav. I. 127. 31b-32a); 26. 2b and 4b (=Bhav. I. 129. 2b and 7b); 26. 46a (=Bhav. I. 139. 90b); 26. 50 (=Bhav. I. 139. 94b).

⁵⁶ For the text of these verses in the Samba-p. as well as in the Bhavisya-p. see foot-note 20 above.

been situated on this Candrabhāgā, must be the same as the Mitravana of the Punjab.

But in chaps. 42-43⁵⁸ (of the second group), the place of Sunworship is, in all cases, said to have been situated on the shore of the salt-ocean (lavanodadhi),⁵⁹ and never on or near the bank of the river Candrabhāgā.

- (3) In the chapters of the first group the place at which 'Mitra' and Sāmba practised austerities and the latter established a Sun-temple and a Sun-image as well as a city called Sāmbapura, is called Mitravana. But in chaps. 42-43 (of the second group) the place of Sun-worship is called the 'tapovana' (penance-forest) of the Sun (called Savitr, Bhāskara, Sūrya, Bhānu, Divākara etc. but never Mitra) in more places than one; 60 it is also called Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Sūrya-kṣetra; 61 and it is only once (viz., in Sāmba-p. 42. 2) that this place is called 'Mitravana'. So, the word 'Mitravana', as occurring in Sāmba-p. 42. 2, is to be taken, like 'Sūrya-kānana', in its literal sense to mean the '(penance-) forest of Mitra', rather than a name.
- (4) The chapters of the first group must have been written in Northern India (and most probably in its western part)⁶². But chaps. 42-43, which deal with the Sun's penance-forest (called *tapovana*, and also Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Sūrya-kṣetra) situated on the
 - 58 For the contents of these two chapters see above.
 - 59 Sāmba-p. 42.7 and 17; 43.1, 33 and 45. Cf. also Sāmba-p 40.9-14.
 - 60 Sāmba-p. 42. 7, 9, 12 and 26; 43. 1.
 - 61 Samba-p. 43. 6; 43. 46; and 43. 50 respectively,
- 62 The following holy places and rivers have been mentioned in chaps. 32 (verses 1-3) and 34 (verses 5-7) in connection with the holy water with which the Sun's image is to be bathed during its consecration and annual worship:—

Puṣkara, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, Pṛthūdaka, Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Candrabhāgā, Narmadā, Payoṣṇi, Yamunā, Tāmrā, Kṣiprā and Vetravatī. It is to be noted that all these holy places and rivers (except Payoṣṇi) belong to Northern India, es pecially to its western part, and that in the chapters of the first group no holy place or river (except Tapati) of Southern India has been mentioned. It should be mentioned here that both Payoṣṇi and Tapati (of which the latter is said to have risen from the Vindhyapāda and has been identified with the Sun's daughter of the same name) belong to the northernmost part of Southern India.

shore of the salt-ocean, are certainly concerned with a place very close to, or even identical with, Koṇārka in Orissa, because Koṇārka, which was situated on the sea-shore very close to the river Candrabhāgā (a small branch of the river Prācī), is called Sūrya-kṣetra, Ravi-kṣetra and Mitravana⁶³ in the Brahma-p., Ravi-kṣetra and Maitreya Vana in the Kapila-saṃhitā,⁶⁴ and Sūrya-kṣetra in the Siva-p.⁶⁵

- (5) In the chapters of the first group, it is Samba who is said to have established at Mitravana a Sun-temple and a Sun-image as well as a city called Sambapura, and the image, which Samba established at Mitravana, is said to have been constructed by Viśvakarman, taken to the Himalayas, and sent down the river Candrabhaga for the sake of Samba. But in chaps. 42-43 the history of the Sun's image, which was placed at the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean, is given as follows. An image of the Sun was constructed by Viśvakarman and worshipped by the gods. It was then placed on the Kalpa-vṛkṣa in the Himalayas, whence it came down to the saltocean successively through the rivers Candrabhaga, Vaipasa (i.e. Vipāśā), Śātadrava (i.e. Satadru), Yamunā, Jāhnavī (also called Bhagirathi) and Modaganga. Now, once the residents of the Suryakanana assembled on the sea-shore in order to see the Sun-rise and found to their great surprise that the rising Sun, who reddened the sky, the ocean and the earth by means of his rays, appeared in two formsone remaining in the sky and the other in the ocean. In water they found another form of the Sun, which Manus (and not Samba) recovered by entering the ocean and established in a temple which was built there for it by Vaivasvata Manu (and not by Samba).
- (6) In verses 9-10 of chap. 42 (of the second group) the Sun's penance-forest (tapovana), situated on the shore of the salt-ocean, is said to have been made by Viśvakarman; but in the chapters of the first group there is no such statement.

⁶³ Brahma-p. 28. 10 and 17. Brahma-p. 30. 41 and 48, in which the name Mitravana occurs, have been taken, along with other verses, from the Samba-p.

⁶⁴ See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 439. Viśvakosa (a Bengali encyclopaedia, ed. Nagendra Nath Vasu), IV, pp. 545-548.

⁶⁵ See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 439.

- (7) In verses 16-36 of chap. 42 (of the second group) an attempt has been made to give a garb of greater antiquity to the Sun's penanceforest by saying that before Samba had gone to this place, some sages of old performed austerities there for many centuries in order to please the Sun and became the creators (srastārah) of this place through the Sun's favour. But in the chapters of the first group there is no mention of any sages living at Mitravana before Sāmba's arrival there.
- (8) In chaps. 42 and 43 there are a few instances66 of such bad versification as is not to be found in any of the chapters of the first
- (9) In the chapters of the first group the Vedas have been held in the highest esteem. The hymns, recited by the gods and others in praise of the Sun, are called 'vedokta' or 'veda-vedānga-sammita'; 67 the three Vedas are said to attend upon the Sun;68 the agni-hotra-grha (the house for the offer of oblations to the fire) is an unavoidable part of the Sun-temple; 69 and so on. Among these chapters there are a few (viz., chaps. 30, 32 and 34-37) which deal with the method of Sun-worship, but in none of them there is any trace of Tantric influence. In these chapters the Vedic boma forms an important part of the worship; the mantras to be used are either Vedic or Puranic or both; 70 and the mediums of worship (viz., fire, water, air, holy place, image, and pedestal for the image of a deity) do not include the Tantric yantra or mandala.11 On the other hand, Tantric influence is very prominent in almost all the chapters of the second group. Mantras with Tantric symbolism are employed at every step; methods of drawing mandalas and performing various kinds of mudrās are given; the necessity of performing nyāsas and mudrās in worship is emphasised; the word 'tantra' has been used to mean not only 'procedure' but

⁶⁶ Samba-p. 42. 34-35; 43. 2a.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 12, 8; 12. 13; 24. 7; and so on.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 6. 15.

Ibid., 29. 15. 69

Ibid., 30. 18; 32. 12ff., especially verse 25; 34. 30-34 and 43-49; 37. 19b (purāņoktena mantreņa); and so on.

⁷¹ Ibid., 38. 45.

also Tantric works;⁷² methods of performing abhicara rites have been given; and so on.

- (10) That the present Sāmba-p. ended with the chapters of the first group is shown by the facts that in Sāmba-p. 39.1 Bṛhadbala says to Vasiṣṭha, "O venerable Brahmin, you have made me hear, both synthetically and analytically, this imperishable and highly blissful 'Purāṇa'", and that in Sāmba-p. 39.5 the portion of this Purāṇa beginning with chap. 39 is called the Uttara (bhāga) and is said to have been spoken out by Bhāskara.⁷³
- (11) The names of the twelve Ādityas (viz., Aruṇa, Sūrya, Aṃśu-mālin, Dhātṛ, Indra, Ravi, Gabhasti, Yama, Svarṇa-retas, Tvaṣṭṛ, Mitra and Viṣṇu), as given in Sāmba-p. 51. 66-67 and 162-170, do not all agree with those contained in Sāmba-p. 4.6 and 9.3ff. (In Sāmba-p. 4.6 the names of the twelve Ādityas are given as follows:—Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu, Aṃśu, Varuṇa and Mitra. The list, as contained in Sāmba-p. 9.3ff., agrees with that in Sāmba-p. 4.6 in respect of the names but not of their order).
 - (12) Chap. 51 has borrowed many verses from chaps. 7 and 9.74
- (13) Among the chapters of the first group there are several cross-references. to the topics dealt with in these chapters, but there
- 72 Ibid., 41. 1; 51. 195; 55, 99 and 101; 57. 15; 61. 50; 68. 9; 74. 10; and so on.
 - 73 Ibid., 39. 5a—purāņasyottaram rājan yad uktam bhāskareņa tu.

74 A list of these common verses is given below: -

Sāmba-p.		Sāmba-p.	Sāmba-p.		Sāmba-p.
51. 126-129	=	7. 6-9.	51, 187-1912	=	7. 54-55,
51. 139	=	7. 19b-20a.			7. 54-55, 58b-59a, 62-63.
51. 140a	-cf.	7. 17b.	51, 163	=	9. 19.
51. 141a	=	7. 16b.	51. 164b-165a	=	9. 31.
51. 141b	=	7. 17a,	51. 165b-166a	=	9. 25.
51. 142a	=	7. 18a,	51, 168a	=	9. 38b.
			51. 170	=	9.39.

75 Viz., Sāmba-p. 5. 3a refers to 4. 5-7; 7. 1-4 refer to chaps, 7-16 and 18-20; 7. 36 refers to 7. 12; 10. 4 refers to 6.20; 34. 3a refers to chaps. 29-32; 34. 4b refers to chap. 32; 34. 14 refers to chap. 21; 35. 2b refers to chaps. 25 and 29; 35. 3b refers to 10. 4ff.; 38. 2 refers to chaps. 29-31 and 34-37; 45. la refers to chap. 44.

is not a single verse which refers to the topics dealt with in any of the chapters of the second group. On the other hand, in verse 14 of chap. 42 (of the second group) there is a reference to the contents of chap. 3. Hence the chapters of the second group must have been added later than those of the first group.

(14) The chapters of the first group, unlike those of the second, contain several instances of grammatical solecism, viz., the roots 'pracch', 'vas' (in the sense of residing) and 'jval' (in the sense of burning) have been used in the their Atmanepadiya forms.76

From the above disagreements between the chapters of the two groups it is clear that all these chapters could not be the works of the same hand nor could they belong to the same clime or age. Among the chapters of the first group, again, there are some which must have been added later. We shall now try to find them out.

Though in the concluding verse (iti muni-rsabhah sutaya visnor vidhim upadiśya ca nārado jagāma/etc.) of chap. 32 Nārada is said to have left Samba after giving him necessary instructions on the consecration of images of the Sun, chap. 33 opens as follows: -

'nārada uvāca—

atahparam pravaksyāmi dhvajāropaņam uttamam/etc.'

This disagreement between the statements about Nārada in these two chapters raises doubt in our mind about the genuineness of chap. 33. This doubt is considerably strengthened by Vasistha's statement in Samba-p. 34. 1-2 that 'on the expiry of a complete year after Sāmba's consecration of the image of the thousand-rayed (Sun), Sāmba again approached Nārada and asked him how he was to perform the annual worship (sāṃvatsarī pūjā) of the Sun'. Moreover, Sāmba-p. 34. 3a (yathoktena vidhānena pratimā-sthāpane kṛte) refers to the contents of chaps. 29-32, and Sāmba-p. 34. 4b (pūrvoktena vidhānena pratimam snapayed budhah) refers to chap. 32, the contents of chap. 33 being ignored totally. Hence chap. 33 must have been added later. But as this chapter occurs in the Bhavisya-p., it must have been inserted

⁷⁶ Sāmba-p. 6. 6 ('pṛcchasva' for' pṛccha'); 6. 12 ('pṛcchate' for 'pṛcchati'); 11, 12 ('vasamānā' for 'vasantī'); 38. 38 ('jvalamānam' for 'jvalantam').

into the Samba-p. earlier than the time of incorporation of the chapters of the Samba-p. into the Bhavisya.

Chaps. 17, 22-23 and 44-45 do not occur in the Bhavisya-p., nor are they referred to by any of the remaining chapters of the Samba-p. Samba-p. 7. 1-4 refer to chaps. 7-16 and 18-20, ignoring chap. 17. So, chaps. 17, 22-23 and 44-45 must be taken as later additions.

The second group is made up of a few units which might not have been written at the same time. Chaps. 39-41 form such a unit. We have already noted that according to verses 1 and 5 of chap. 39, chaps. 39ff. form a distinct part, called Uttara (-bhāga), which is not a continuation of, but is quite different from, chaps. 1-38. Towards the end of chaps. 40 and 41, the section on dīkṣā (in chaps. 39-41) is called the 'Purāṇokta Sāstra' which everybody is advised to read. Thence chaps. 39-41 can safely be taken to be a distinct unit.

As regards chaps. 42-43, we have already said much on their distinct character and their connection with Mitravana of Orissa.

Chaps. 53-83 form a distinct section called Jñānottara, the name Jñānottara being mentioned in the colophons of many of these chapters. This section, which is really a Tantra, as it is called in many of its verses, is not peculiar with the printed edition only but is found in all the Mss of the Sāmba-p. hitherto discovered. Moreover, the chapters of this section are often called Paṭala (just as in the Tantric works) and numbered afresh. For instance, the colophon of chap. 53 runs as follows:—iti sāmbapurāņe pūjā-vidhi-nirūpaņe prathamam paṭalam nāma tripañcāśattamo'dhyāyaḥ.

Among the chaps. 53-83, there are a few, viz. chaps. 53-55 (except verses 98-117 of chap. 55), which are originally Saura, but the rest prominently exhibit Saiva influence. In these remaining

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77 Sāmba-p. 40. 41a—
aprameyam idam śāstram purāņam pūrva-coditam.
Sāmba-p, 41. 1—
nānyac chāstram samuddiṣṭam bhānoḥ pūjā-nivedane/
purānoktam imam rājan sarva-vedopabṛmhitam//
* * adhyetavyam idam śāstram * * * '//
Sāmba-p. 41, 7—
purānoktam idam śāstram * * * '//
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chaptets (viz., chap. 55, verse 98 to chap. 83) Siva and his linga have been mentioned on numerous occasions, Siva is called Paramatman (55. 114), and all gods are said to be 'Sivātmaka' (68. 49). Going to describe the way in which a devoted householder can attain the Sivaloka easily, chap. 69 says that the devotee should have, among other things, the following qualifications, viz., he should worship his spiritual preceptor like Siva himself, follow the path of Siva, and always meditate on the deity. 78 In Samba-p. 71. 1 Samkara is called the best bija and the highest deity; Samba-p. 77. 1 proposes to describe the means by which a devotee may attain the likeness of Siva and his tie of bondage (pāśa) may be severed; 70 in Sāmba-p. 80.10 it is said that the Yogins do not revert to rebirths after attaining the imperishable and the highest deity, namely Siva; 80 chap. 82 explains what is meant by bhava-linga, emphasises the necessity of its worship with flowers in the forms of eight mental attitudes (bhava, viz., ahimsa, indriya-nigraha, dhṛti, kṣamā, śauca, akrodha, hrī and satya) for the pleasure of Siva, and says: "One, who always worships the imperishable Siva with these flowers, is able to see this Supreme Being by breaking open the door of ignorance"; 81 the tie of bongage, which subjects all creatures to rebirths, is in many places called pasa;82 the names of Siva occur in many of the mantras;83 and so on. So, it is highly

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78 Sāmba-p. 69. 1ff.-
   tattvānusāreņa pathah kramaśo 'thānuvarnyate/ śiva-lokam yathā yena
praviśed grhavadgrhī// gaṇa-maṇḍala-tattvajñaḥ....../
śivavad guru-pūjakaḥ//..... śiva-mārgānusārī ca.....//
......dhyāyaṃś ca śivam ātmasthaṃ...... // saṃtyajya....../,
matāni viparītāni dhyāyen nityam sadāśivam//
  79 Sāmba-p. 77. 1-
         śiva-tulyatvam asya syāt pāśa-cchedas tu yena vai/
         tam ato varnayisyāmi saṃskāraṃ kramaśaḥ param//
         bhittvā mūrdhni kapālam tu višaty avyayam išvaram/
 80
        yam prapya na nivarteta yoginah paramam śivam//,
     Sāmba-p. 82. 8b-9a-
 81
        ebhir yas tu sadā puspair arcayec chivam avyayam/
        udghātya tu tamodvāram śivam paśyen niranjanam//
     Sāmba-p. 77. 1 and 6; 83. 12, 18 and 19; and so on.
 82
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Sāmba-p. 55. 98; 61. 18.

83

probable that these chapters with Saiva influence were taken from some work of the Saivas and adapted to the need of the Tantrik Sauras with certain modifications. That these chapters originally belonged to some other work, is shown by the fact that the introduction of Bhāskara as speaking to the inquisitive Brahmā in Sāmba-p. 55. 98ff. and of Maheśvara as speaking to Brahmā in chaps. 82-83 is made suddenly without any previous notice of the interlocutors.

The remaining chaps. 47-52 of this group must be taken to be another unit. These chapters seem to have been writen at the same time.

From the above analysis it is evident that the present Sāmba-p. consists of different units mostly belonging to different climes and ages. We shall now try to determine the dates of composition of these units. But the problem of date of these units is intimately connected with the problems of mutual relation between the Sāmba-p., Bhaviṣya-p., Brahma-p. and Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, i). We shall first set ourselves to the solution of these problems.

It has already been shown that a large number of chapters is found common to the Sāmba-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p. That as regards these common chapters the Bhaviṣya-p. is the borrower, can be established by the following evidences.

(1) Regarding the Sāmba-p. the Matsya-p. (53. 61) says:—
yatra sāmbam puraskṛtya bhaviṣye'pi kathānakam/,
procyate tat punar loke sāmbam etan munivratāḥ//84

84 This verse, which agrees also with Skanda-p. VII. i. 2. 82 (v. l. 'bhaviṣyati' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat'), is found ascribed to the Matsya-p. (or Mātsya) in Kṛṭya-kalpataru, I, p. 30 (v. l. 'yat tu' for 'yatra' and 'bhaviṣyati' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'), Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 (v. l. 'bhaviṣyati' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat') and II. i, p. 22 (v. l. 'bhaviṣyati' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat'; 'śuci-vratāḥ' for 'muni-vratāḥ'), Kṛṭya-ratnākara, p. 32 (v. l. 'yat tu' for 'yatra'; 'tat procyate' for 'procyate tat'; and 'eva' for 'etat'), Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary (called Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22 (v. l. 'yac ca' for 'yatra'; 'eva' for 'etat'; 'muni-vrataiḥ' for 'muni-vratāḥ), Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18 (v. l. 'eva' for 'etat'; 'muni-vrataiḥ' for 'muni-vratāḥ'), and Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15 (v. l. 'yat tu' for 'yatra'; 'eva' for 'etat').

O sages, (the section, occurring) in the Bhavisya also, wherein there is a small tale concerning Sāmba, is, again, called Sāmba (-purāṇa) in society'. The words 'api'85 and 'punaḥ' in this verse, as well as the word 'pṛṭhak' in the verse 'aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛṭhak purāṇaṃ etc'.86 show that though at the time of composition of these verses the Sāmba-p. was found to exist separately and was also found incorporated in the Bhaviṣya-p., the author of these verses was quite conscious of the fact that the Sāmba-p. was really an independent Purāṇic work.

(2) In Varāha-p., chap. 177, in which the story of Sāmba's penance⁸⁷ for the Sun's favour in order to get rid of leprosy caused by

85 The reading 'api' is found not only in the Venkat. ed. (53. 61) and Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed. (53. 61) of the Matsya-p. but also in Kṛtya-ratnā-kara, p. 32, Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22, Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18 and Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15. (See the immediately preceding foot-note). The reading 'bhaviṣyati' (for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'), as found in the AnSS ed. of the Matsya-p., in Skanda-p. VII. i. 2. 82, and in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 and II. i, p. 22, is metrically defective.

86 aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat pradiśyate/

vijānīdhvam dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam// (Mat. 53. 63). For the different readings of this verse in different works see Chap. I, footnotes 37 and 38.

87 In Varāha-p., chap. 177, the story of Sāmba has been given, with certain innovations, as follows: —

Once Nārada saw Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā and told him that all his 16000 wives were enamoured of Samba for his physical beauty and that this fact used to be discussed by the gods in Brahma-loka. In order to be convinced of the truth of Nārada's allegation Kṛṣṇa called Sāmba before his wives and saw with his own eyes the mental agitation his wives had at the sight of Samba. Kṛṣṇa was ashamed of his wives' conduct, and decried female nature as being unscrupulously lustful. With the intention of making Samba an object of Kṛṣṇa's curse, Nārada said that this guilt was certainly not one-sided but was equally shared by Samba who used to encourage Krsna's wives in their desire for sexual enjoyment, and that even the residents of Satya-loka were of opinion that Kṛṣṇa's wives were corrupted by Samba. Narada even advised Kṛṣṇa to forsake Samba. Consequently, Kṛṣṇa cursed Sāmba to be deformed; and in a moment Sāmba became an ugly leper. As a remedy Nārada advised Sāmba to go to Udayācala and worship the rising Sun there in the forenoon. He also assured Samba that there would be a 'Bhavisyat-purana' on the basis of Samba's words (cf. bhavisyatpurāņam iti ca tava vādād bhaviṣyati) and that this Purāṇa would always be read

Kṛṣṇa's curse has been narrated briefly with the mention of the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' as the source, Sāmba is said to have 'made the famous Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa new'. This shows that originally the Bhaviṣya-p. did not contain any story of Sāmba, and that the chapters on Sāmba were added to the Bhaviṣya-p. later.

(3) According to Nāradīya-p. I. 100, the Bhavisya-p. consisted of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaisnava, Saiva, Saura and Pratisarga, and of only 14000 ślokas. In connection with a description of the contents of these Parvans, the Nāradīya-p. says that the Brāhma Parvan, which dealt with creation etc., sacraments, and the Tithi-kalpas up to the Saptamī Tithi, and which represented all the śāstras, related to the Aghora-kalpa, contained mainly the praise of Brahma, 88 and was 'āditya-carita-prāya' and 'sarvākhyāna-samanvita'. The non-mention of the famous story of Samba among the contents of the Brahma Parvan, the mention of a short extent of 14000 ślokas for the entire Bhavisya-p., and the statement that the Brahma Parvan abounded in the praise of Brahmā and related to the occurrence of the Aghorakalpa, tend to show that the Brāhma Parvan, described by the Nāradīya-p., was much shorter than the present one (in which there is no mention of the Aghora-kalpa and which has retained some of the contents of its earlier prototype),89 and that it lacked the story of Sāmba.

by Nārada himself before Brahmā in Brahma-loka and be declared by Sumantu to Manu in the world of mortals. But as the disabled Sāmba intimated his inability to go to Udayācala, Nārada asked him to go to Mathurā (which was evidently nearer to Dvārakā than Udayācala) and worship the Sun there after taking his bath in the Yamunā, so that Sāmba might derive the benefits of worshipping the Sun in the morning on the Udayācala, at mid-day, and in the evening. Sāmba did so and was cured of his disease. He asked the Sun about the Purāṇa declared by the latter (cf. raviṃ papraccha dharmātmā purāṇaṃ sūrya-bhāṣitam), made the famous 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' new (cf. bhaviṣyat-purāṇam iti khyātaṃ kṛtvā punar navam), and established three images of the Sun,—one on the Udayācala, another named Kālapriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the third, named Mūlasthāna, on the Astamānācala. Sāmba also established another image of the Sun, named Sāmbapura, at Mathurā.

88 Cf. Nāradīya-p. I. 100. 11a-

eşu pañcasu parvasu brahmaņo mahimādhikaḥ.

89 See Hazra, Puranic Records, pp. 167-171.

That the Bhavisya-p. was originally much shorter than the present one and that it grew in bulk with the addition of various stories in later times, are shown by the present Bhavisya itself, in which Sumantu says to king Satānīka that all the Purāṇas originally contained 12000 ślokas each but later on increased in bulk by incorporating various stories, and that in course of time the Bhavisya-p. came to have half a lac of ślokas.

(4) In the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Ms⁹¹ of the Bhavisya-p. which consists of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaisṇava, Saiva, Tvāṣṭra (i.e. Saura) and Pratisarga. The extent of this Ms is much shorter than that of the printed Bhavisya, and it lacks the story of Sāmba.

The evidences, adduced above, are certainly not very strong when taken individually. So, they are to be considered with the following internal ovidences.

- (5) In Bhav. I. 93, in which many of the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 38 are found, there is mention of both the Bhavisya-p. and the Sāmba-p. 22 among the objects to be offered to the Sun.
- (6) The story of Samjñā has been given in two places of the Brāhma Parvan of the Bhaviṣya-p., viz., in chaps. 47 and 79. Of these, chap. 79 has the great majority of its verses in common with Sāmba-p., chaps. 10-11, and narrates the story of Samjñā in the same way as the latter. 93 But in Bhav. I. 47 the story of Samjñā has been given very differently in the following way.
 - 90 Cf. Bhav. I. 1. 104b-107a—
 sarvāṇy eva purāṇāni saṃjñeyāni nararṣabha//
 dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi proktānīha manīṣibhiḥ/
 punar vṛddhiṃ gatānīha ākhyānair vividhair nṛpa//
 yathā skāndaṃ tathā cedaṃ bhaviṣyaṃ kurunandana/
 skāndaṃ śata-sahasraṃ tu lokānāṃ jñātam eva hi//
 bhaviṣyam etad ṛṣṣṇāṃ lakṣārdhaṃ saṃkhyayā kṛtam//
- 91 No. 4500.—See Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 424-428, No. 3738. It should be mentioned here that this Ms gives a text which is quite different from that of the printed Bhavisya.
 - 92 Bhav. I. 93. 71—
 bhavisyam sāmba-samjñam vā dattvā sūryāya pustakam/
 rājasūyāśvamedhābhyām phalam prāpnoti mānavaḥ//
 - 93 For the story of Samjñā as given in Sāmba-p., chaps. 10-11, see above.

While the Sun (called Martanda) was yet in the Cosmic Egg (andastha), Daksa gave him his incomparably beautiful daughter named Arūpā94 as wife, and Yama and Yamunā were born to her. Now, the Sun was beautiful but so bright that, being dazzled by his brilliance, Arūpā was unable to see any of his limbs; even her beautiful golden complexion was turned black by the Sun's rays. So, being dejected in mind, Arūpā determined to place her own chāyā (shadow) there and go to the Northern Kuru country for practising penance. Consequently, she left Chāyā to occupy her own place, with a request not to divulge the matter to the Sun, went to the Northern Kuru country, and lived there with deer for many years in the form of a mare. The Sun took Chaya to be his wife and begot on her 'two children named Sani and Tapatī.'95 Chāyā was very partial to her own children and did not look upon Yama and Yamuna with much affection. Now, once Yamuna and Tapatī quarrelled with each other and were turned into rivers (by their mutual curse); and Yama was beaten by Chaya so severely that 'he stood before her by raising his foot'. Chāyā was enraged at Yama's behaviour and cursed him saying, "Thou, fool, hast raised thy foot towards me! So, the gruesome work of killing the lives of creatures will undoubtedly be thine as long as there will be the sun and the moon. If thou placest this foot on the ground, worms will consume it, polluted as it is by my curse". When Yama and Chāyā were thus quarrelling, the Sun came there. Yama intimated to the Sun Chāyā's unequal treatment towards them, and added that she was merely the chaya (shadow) of his mother and not his mother herself. Yama also informed the Sun of the unhappy incident concerning Yamuna and Tapatī. Hearing all this, the Sun said that the worms would not

94 In Bhav. I. 47 the name of Dakṣa's daughter is given as Samjñā only once, viz., in verse 48b, but even in that line the reading 'samjñāyāḥ' is found replaced by the reading 'savarṇāyāḥ' in some Mss.

⁹⁵ Though here (in Bhav. I. 47. 12a) only two children, namely Sani and Tapati, are said to have been born of Chāyā by Mārtaṇḍa, in Bhav. I. 47. 48a Chāyā is said to have three children, viz., Tapatī, Sani and Sāvarṇi (tapatī śaniś ca sāvarṇiś chāyāpatyāni vai viduḥ). So, verse 48 of Bhav. I. 47 must be spurious.

enter the earth after taking flesh and blood from Yama's foot placed on the surface of the earth, that the water of the Yamuna would be as holy as that of the Ganges, into which the Yamuna would ultimately flow, that the Tapati would be equal to the Narmada in respect of sanctity and would flow on the south of the Vindhyas, that Yama would become the Lokapāla, and that Chāyā would thenceforward remain in her own body. The Sun then went to Daksa and asked him the reason of his daughter's departure. Daksa, who understood the whole matter, told the Sun that being unable to see the Sun's figure his daughter went to the Northern Kuru country. He also proposed that he might make the Sun's figure discernible, only if the latter agreed to stand the pain. The Sun consenting, Daksa thought of Taksan (the divine architect), who immediately came there and, with the Sun's consent to bear the pain, began to pare out his limbs from head to foot by means of his instruments. When the rays of his different limbs were thus being pared, the Sun fainted at every moment. So, being afraid of the Sun's curse, Taksan left the parts of his feet from the heels to the toes unpared and removed the pain by applying on his body a paste made of Karavīra flowers and red sandal. The Sun went to the Northern Kuru country, took the form of a horse, and had physical union with his wife. The two Asvins and Revanta were born of this union. After meeting his wife the Sun reassumed his divine form.

The above story differs from that in Bhav. I. 79 on many important points; viz., there is mention neither of Vaivasvata Manu nor of Srutaśravas (who was destined to become Savarni Manu) among the sons of the Sun; the name of the Sun's wife is given as Arūpā; Arūpā is said to have gone direct to the Northern Kuru country without stopping at her father's house; Yamuna and Tapati are said to have been turned into rivers by their mutual curse; and so on. So, it is evident that these two divergent stories could never have been written by the same hand.

(7) The Bhavisya-p. begins to have verses in common with the Samba-p. from I. 52 (dealing with the following topics: -the description of the Sun's one-wheeled chariot, and the method and results of saluting the Sun). Bhav. I. 52 is intimately connected with, and

Mahāsaptamī requiring the worship of the Sun, the gift of a chariot, and the performance of a procession after mounting the Sun's image in a car (ratha-yātrā). It is the mention of Ratha-yātrā in Bhav. I. 51. 13b that introduces the topics of Bhav. I. 52ff. Moreover, Vāsudeva, who speaks to Sāmba in Bhav. I. 48-51 and who is said to have vanished from Sāmba's presence in Bhav. I. 52. 1-2, is introduced by Sumantu at the very beginning of Bhav. I. 48. As Bhav. I. 48-49, which deal with the method of Sun-worship in Saptamī-vrata, are imbued with Tantric elements, and as Sāmba-p., chaps. 1-15, 16 (verses 1-24), 18-21, 24-38 and 46, being remarkably free from Tantric elements, must have been written at a time when the cult of the Sun was still immune from Tantricism, it is sure that the Bhavisya-p. incorporated the verses of the Sāmba-p. at a time when the method of Sun-worship was being influenced by Tantricism.

(8) The same verses of the Samba-p. occur in three different places of the Bhavisya-p., viz.,

Sāmba-p.

Chap. 8 (except verse 13b)

Chap. 8, verses 1-11a

Chap. 8, verses 1-4a, 5 and 6b-7

Bhaviṣya-p.

I. 54. 2-14;

I. 78. 43b-53a;

Chap. 8, verses 1-4a, 5 and 6b-7

I. 161. 2-5 and 6b-7.

(9) Sāmba-p., chap. 9 gives the etymological meanings (dhātvartha-nigama) of the Sun's different names in verses 15-43 and then says:—

apy ekam vetti yo nāma dhātvarthanigamai raveḥ/

sa rogair varjitah sarvaih sadyah pāpāt pramucyate// (verse 57). Bhav. I. 78 (which has a large number of verses in common with Sāmba-p., chap. 9) contains the verses 'apy ekam vetti yo nāma' etc. but lacks the verses on the etymological meanings of the Sun's different names.

(10) In verse 23 of Bhav. I. 79 Nārada proposes to speak of the offspring of the Sun and says that the Sun begot three children on Samjñā, but in verses 24ff. he goes on narrating the story of Samjñā abruptly from her residence in her father's house for one thousand years before she started for the Northern Kuru country. It is to be

noted that although the whole of Sāmba-p., chap. 10, and the large majority of the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 11, are found to occur in Bhav. I. 79, the Bhavisya-p. remarkably lacks Sāmba-p. 11. 2-12a which state why Samjñā determined to go to her father's house without informing the Sun and how she created Chāyā for the purpose and left her in charge of her husband and children.

- (11) In Bhav. I. 53, in which Brahmā speaks to Rudra and which has the large majority of its verses in common with Sāmba-p., chaps. 20-21, verse 50b reads 'viṣṇur bhavān ahaṃ rudraḥ pūjayāma (v.l. 'pūjayanti' and 'pūjayāmaḥ') niśā-kṣaye' in place of 'brahmā viṣṇuś ca rudraś ca pūjayanti niśā-kṣaye' of verse 23b of Samba-p. 20 (in which Nārada speaks to Sāmba on the names of the towns surrounding the Meru, the speed with which the Sun goes round the Meru, and the names of the different gods who worship the Sun at different times).
- kathito mayā/sa tasminn eva manasā sthāpanīyo rathe budhaiḥ//) refers to Sāmba-p., chap. 29 (dealing with the characteristics of the Sun's image, the construction of Sun-temples, and the position of the image of the Sun as well as of those of the Sun's attendant deities in these temples). But Bhav. I. 58, which contains almost all the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 35, omits the lines 'yasya yas ca niyogaḥ syāt' etc. but retains the line 'sa tasminn eva manasā sthāpanīyo rathe budhaiḥ'96 which is meaningless without the first line (yasya yas ca niyogaḥ syāt etc.). The cause of this omission is that in the Bhaviṣya-p. there is no chapter (preceding chap. 58) to which the line 'yasya yas ca niyogaḥ syāt' may refer and that the verses of Sāmba-p. 29, which deal with the position of the Sun's image and of those of his attendant deities in the Sun-temple, have been inserted in the Bhaviṣya-p. as late as in chap. 130.
- (13) Sāmba-p. 35. 3b (dyaur mahī deva-mūrtisthe yathā-pūrvaṃ prakīrtite) refers to Sāmba-p. 10. 4ff. (in which the Sun's two wives Rājñī and Nikṣubhā have been identified with Dyauh and Pṛthivī respectively), but this line, as retained in Bhav. I. 58. 24b (dyaur

mahī ca dvimūrtisthe yathāpūrvam pratisthite), has no preceding chapter to refer to, and the verses of Sāmba-p. 10, to which it might refer, have been inserted as late as in Bhav. I. 79.

- (14) Though in Bhav. I. 58 Brahmā speaks to Rudra, line 32b (which corresponds to Sāmba-p. 35. 10a) runs as follows:—yathokta-karaṇād rudra sadā śāntir bhaven nṛpa. The use of the word 'nṛpa' in the Vocative Case in this line is unwarranted and proves that the Bhaviṣya-p. is the borrower, because in the corresponding chapter (35) of the Sāmba-p. Vasiṣṭha speaks to king Bṛhadbala.
- (15) The Bhaviṣya-p. has plagiarised a large number of verses from Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṃhitā, 97 viz.,

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Bhav. I. 54. 15-16
                            Brhat-samhitā 3. 21-22.
  , I. 130. 8-37a
                              ,, 56. 1-28a and 29b-30.
  ,, I. 131. 4
                                59. I.
  " I. 131. 14-18
                     -cf.
                              " 59. 5-7.
  " I. 131. 31b-35
                              ,, 59. 8-11.
  " I. 131. 42b-45
                             ,, 59. 12-13.
  " I. 132. 26-32
                              ,, 58. 48, 47b, 50-52
                                     and 41-42.
 " l. 133. 1b-2
                     -cf.
                              " 60. I-2a.
 ,, l. 133. 3a
                              ,, 60. 2b.
                     -cf.
 " I. 133. 3b-8a
                              ,, 60. 3-6a.
   I. 137. 4-6a
                              " 60. 14-19 and 22a.
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- 97 The Bhavisya-p, is taken to be the borrower for the following reasons:-
- (1) In Bhav. I. 1. 7 Vyāsa is said to have narrated briefly in the present Bhaviṣya the contents of the Smṛṭi and other works written by the sages such as Parāśara, So, the present Bhaviṣya-p. calls itself a compilation rather than an original work. As a matter of fact, Bhav. I. 2ff. frequently refer to Manu and have numerous verses derived from the Manu-smṛṭi. Aparārka and Kullūka-bhaṭṭa even say that the Bhaviṣya-p. expounds the passages of the Manu-smṛṭi (see Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 1071 and 1076, and Kullūka-bhaṭṭa's com. on Manu-smṛṭi XI. 73, 74, 76 and 101),
- (2) The peculiar metre, which Varāhamihira uses in many of the chapters of his Bṛhat-saṃhitā, is found only in some of those verses of the Bhaviṣya-p. which are common with the Bṛhat-saṃhitā. There are two verses (viz., Bhav. I. 137. 3 and 6b-7a) which, though written in this peculiar metre, do not occur in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā. Of these, the former (i.e. verse 3) is introductory and the latter is concluding to verses 4-6a (=Bṛhat-saṃhitā 60. 14-19 and 22a).

But in the Sāmba-p. there is not even a single line which has its parallel in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā, although almost all the verses of chaps. 8 and 29-31 of the Sāmba-p. are found to occur in the above-mentioned chapters of the Bhaviṣya-p., viz.,

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Sāmba-p.

Chap. 8 (except verse 13b) = I. 54. 2-14;

"" 29 (except verses 1-7, 20a) = I. 130. 42-56, 59-60a, 63b;

"" 30 (except verses 28b-29, 31b)=I. 131. 1a, 2-3a, 10b-13a, 5-10a, 19-20, 23-26, 27b-30, 36-41, 46-47;

"" 31 = I. 132. 1-24;

"" 32, verse 1a = I. 133. 1a.
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On the other hand, Bhav. I. 24-28, though dealing with the physical characteristics of men and women (strī-puruṣa-sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa), betray no influence of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (which deals with

(3) A great scholar and astronomer like Varāhamihira cannot be expected to have plagiarised verses from the Bhavisya-p., especially when we consider that although in Bṛhat-saṃhitā 1. 2 Varāhamihira says that he has treated in an easy style the same subject-matter as was revealed by the former seers, he refers very often, by name, to the authors of those works from which he has taken verses, and that the extant Purāṇas, which are often called compilations (saṃhitā), are found to have incorporated verses or even complete chapters from standard Sanskrit works on different subjects.

Hence it is sure that the Bhavişya-p. borrowed the verses from the Bṛhat-saṃhitā.

Regarding the mutual relation between the Bhavişya-p. and the Bṛhat-saṃ-hitā, Nagendra Nath Vasu says that the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (60. 19) quotes the verse 'viṣṇor bhāgavatān magāṃś ca savituḥ etc.' from the Bhaviṣya-p. (see Vasu, Archaêological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. I, p. v, foot-note 1). It is evident that Vasu jumped into his conclusion on the basis of only the above-mentioned verse (viṣṇor bhāgavatān), and that he was quite unconscious of the numerous coincidences between the Bṛhat-saṃhitā and the Bhaviṣya-p. So, his view can safely be rejected.

Vasu's view has been repeated by J. N. Farquhar in his Outline of the Religious Literature of India (p. 153), but the latter says ".....the śloka may have been in common use; we cannot be sure that it is quoted from the Purāṇa by Varāha Mihira". (See Outline, p. 153, foot-note 2).

the same topics in chaps. 68-70). So, it is evident that the chapters of the Bhavisya-p., which deal with the story of Sāmba, were originally taken from the Sāmba-p. and improved with verses from the Bṛhatsaṃhitā and then added to the Bhavisya-p.

(16) In Bhav. I. 66 Sumantu, being asked by Śatānīka to speak on the glory of the Sun, narrates the interlocution between the sage Sankha and a Brahmin; and in this interlocution Śankha says:

"imam artham vasisthena pṛṣṭaḥ sāmbo yathā purā/ sa covāca vasiṣṭhāya tad aham kathayāmi te//"

This seems to be a reference to the Sāmba-p. in which Vasiṣṭha narrates the story of Sāmba to king Bṛhadbala.

(17) In Bhav. I. 78. 58-60 (=Sāmba-p. 9. 5b-8a) the names of the twelve Ādityas, shining respectively in the twelve months from Caitra, are as follows:—

Vishu, Aryaman, Vivasvar, Amsumat, Parjanya, Varuna, Indra,

Dhātṛ, Mitra, Pūṣan, Bhaga and Tvaṣṭṛ.

But in Bhav. I. 65. 26b-29 the twelve Adityas, shining respectively in the twelve months from Caitra, are the following:—

Dhātṛ, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Vivasvat, Parjanya, Pūṣan,

Ișu, Bhaga, Tvaștr, and Vișnu.

(18) In Bhav. I. 139. 1-9a (which are the same as Sāmba-p. 26. 16-22a and 24-25) we are told that after regaining his former physical beauty Sāmba approached Nārada and asked him which Brahmins were fit for worshipping the Sun's image established by himself: Nārada said that no twice-born of any worth could be prevailed upon to worship the image and accept its property, because by such acceptance they would be regarded as apānkteya Devalaka Brahmins. So, Nārada advised Sāmba to take recourse to the Sun who alone was able to give him necessary information in this matter. Next, in Bhav. I. 139, verses 9b-69 (none of which, except the first half of 10b, is found in the Sāmba-p.) we see that Nārada also gave an alternative suggestion to Sāmba saying: "Or, Oh tiger in the family of Yadu, go to Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena, and ask him. He will fulfil your desire" Consequently, Sāmba approached

⁹⁸ Bhav. I, 139. 9b-10a.

Gauramukha and requested him to accept the huge temple (vipulam gṛham) as well as the property that was donated by Sāmba to the Sun's image established there by himself. But Gauramukha declined saying that he could not lower himself to the status of apānkteya Devalaka Brahmins by accepting the property of the image. Next, being asked by Sāmba as to whether he saw or heard of any Brahmin to whom these things might be given, Gauramukha spoke of the 'Magas', whom he described as descendants of Jarasabda (or Jarasastra, according to some Mss)⁹⁹. About the origin of this Jarasabda, Gauramukha narrated the following story.

Due to a curse of the Sun, his wife Nikṣubhā was born in a human form as the daughter of the sage Rjiśvan^{99a} (more often called Rjihva, and once Sujihva) of the Mihira gotra. Rjiśvan named her Hāralīlā (or Hāvanī according to some Mss),¹⁰⁰ and the latter 'was to sport with Fire according to her father's command' (pitur niyogāt sā kanyā viharej jātavedasam—Bhav. I. 139. 36b)¹⁰¹. Accordingly, the Fire was kindled (samiddhaḥ)¹⁰² by her. Now, once the Sun chanced to see Hāralīlā and was attracted by her youthful beauty. Finding no other means of enjoying her person, he entered fire¹⁰³;

99 Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 30. The Bodleian Ms reads 'jalagamvu.'—See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 33a.

The Rg-veda names one Rjiśvan (almost undoubtedly a king) in a number of verses, two of which (viz., Rg-veda IV. 16. 13 and V. 29. 11) call him a 'Vaidathina' (a son or descendant of Vidathin) and one (viz., Rg-veda X. 99.11), an 'Auśija' (a son or descendant of Uśija). As there is no possibility of Vaidathina Rjiśvan and Auśija Rjiśvan of the Rg-veda being different persons, it seems that Rjiśvan was the son or descendant of Vidathin belonging to the family of Uśija. (See Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 161). In Rg-veda VI. 20.7 Rjiśvan has been called 'a donor of (sacrificial) gifts'.

100 See Aufrecht, Bod, Cat., p. 32b. Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 30.

This shows that Hāralīlā (or Hāvanī) was betrothed by her father to the Fire god, who alone was thus entitled to enjoy her person.

102 The word 'samiddhah' may also mean 'excited amorously'.

In the verses

anayāvahṛto yo 'yaṃ pāvako deva pūjitaḥ/
vanam āviśya tanvaṅgīṃ bhajeyaṃ loka-pūjitām//
iti saṃcintya deveśaḥ sahasrāṃśur divaspatiḥ/
viveśa pāvakaṃ vīra tat-putraś cābhavat tadā//

and Hāralīlā also transgressed the kindled Fire and met the Sun. Seeing that Hāralīlā transgressed himself, the Fire, which was kindled by Hāralīlā, became enraged. He assumed his own form and said under the inspiration of the Sun (nodito bhaskarena tu). "As you have superseded me by violating the Vedic injunctions, the son, who will be born to you, will be famous under the name of Jarasabda (or Jarasastra, according to some Mss) and will be the perpetuator of his family and the multiplier of fame (vamsa-kīrtivivardhanah)104. (His descendants) will be called Magas, because of (his) origin from fire; they will also be known as dvijātis (twice-born) for (his) origin from Soma, and as Bhojakas for (his) origin from Aditya. All these will be called divine". Saying this the Sun (who resided in the Fire) vanished. The sage Rjisvan knew, through meditation, about Hāralīlā's pregnancy. He deemed himself lowered106 and cursed Hāralīlā saying: "Oh extremely fortunate (girl), as, due to the fault of yourself who have become passionate, the foetus has been generated in you under the cover of fire, it will become dishonourable (apūjya)". Being aggrieved, Hāralīlā prayed to the Sun for raising her child to an honourable position. The Sun took the

(Bhav. I. 139. 39-40) the word 'vanam' must be a wrong reading for 'enam'. Aufrecht's Ms reads 'etam' for 'vanam'.—See Bod. Cat., p. 33a.

In the printed edition, Bhav. I. 139. 43b ff. read as follows:—
vedoktam vidhim utsrjya yathāham langhitas tvayā/
tasmān mattah samutpanno na ca putro bhaviṣyati//
jaraśabda iti khyāto vaṃśa-kīrti-vivardhanah/
agni-jātyā magāḥ proktāḥ soma-jātyā dvijātayaḥ//

But with these readings the above lines do not give any clear meaning, and the third line remains unconnected. So, we are to accept the text of the second line as given in Aufrecht's Ms., viz., tasmāt sa tu samutpannas tava putro bhaviṣyati.—See Bod. Cat., p. 33a.

tam evam uktvā bhagavān ādityo 'ntaradhīyata

(Bhav. I. 139. 46a). But Aufrecht's Ms reads:—

tam evam uktvā bhagavān ādityo 'ntardadhe 'gnimān

(see Bod. Cat., p. 33a), The latter reading seems to be better.

106 Cf. patitaḥ syān mahātejā rjihvaḥ sumahāmātiḥ.

form of fire and said that though he did not like to make Rjiśvan's words futile, he would make her disreputable son worthy of respect and versed in the Vedas, that her son would have as his descendants such teachers of the Vedas as Vasistha and others who would sing the Sun's praise, worship the Sun and fire with devotion, observe the solar vows, have matted hair and beards, carry a pūrnaka in their right hand and a 'varśmā'¹⁰⁷ in their left, cover their face with a veil called 'patidāna'¹⁰⁸, and, being purified by these and other practices, attain the Sun's proximity, and that even those who would worship the Sun without observing any rule or using any mantra out of ignorance or displeasure, would delight in the presence of the Sun. The Sun then vanished.

Thus, Gauramukha said, 'the Bhojakas came into being'. Gauramukha advised Sāmba to give the town as well as the gifts to these Bhojakas. At the request of Sāmba to tell him where these great sons of the Sun called Bhojakas lived, Gauramukha intimated his ignorance in this matter and advised him to take recourse to the Sun.

Then in Bhav. I. 139. 70-81 and 83-97 (which are the same as Sāmba-p. 26. 26-49 and 50b-52) we are told that Sāmba approached the Sun, bowed down to him, and asked him: "Who will perform your worship?" Being thus questioned by Sāmba, the Sun spoke of the Magas, Magagas, Gānagas (or Mānasas) and Mandagas of Sāka-dvīpa, who, he said, were produced by Viśvakarman from his rays, 109 to whom he imparted the four Vedas, and who were given to his worship. At the Sun's advice Sāmba went to Sāka-dvīpa and brought eighteen families (aṣtādása kulāni) of Magas to Mitravana.

A careful comparison between the above contents of the three parts of Bhav. I. 139 shows that the third part is a direct continuation of the first, and that the second part (viz., Bhav. I 139. 9b-69), which is not found in the Sāmba-p., differs on many points from the first and the third. For instance, Sāmba's question 'kas te pūjām karisyati'

^{107 .}The printed ed. wrongly reads 'varma'.—Bhav. I. 139. 60a.

The 'varśmā' (or Barsom,—Avestan 'baresma') is a bundle of twigs held by Magian priests during Sun-worship.

¹⁰⁸ This veil is called 'paitidana' in the Avesta,

¹⁰⁹ tejasas te madiyasya nirmitā viśvakarmaņā.—Bhav. I. 139. 76b.

to the Sun in Bhav. I. 139. 70b follows from the conversation between Sāmba and Nārada in Bhav. I. 139. 1-9a but does not agree with Bhav. I. 139. 69 in which Gauramukha says:

"nāham jāne mahābāho vasante yatra vai magāh/ ravis taj jānate vīra tasmāt tam śaranam vraja//";

and in Bhav. I. 139. 76b the Magas, Magagas etc. are said to have been produced by Viśvakarman from the Sun's rays, whereas in Bhav. I. 139. 9b-69 a different origin of the Magas is given.

Just like the Bhavisya-p., the present Brahma-p. also has a large number of verses in common with the Samba-p., viz.,

	Brahma-p.		Sāmba-p.
Chap.		= Chap	34a and 53b);
,,		= ,,	2, verses 2a and 3-21;
,,	30, verses 22-23a, 24-42a, 44	= ,,	4, verses 3-18 and 20-24;
,,	30, verses 45, 60a, 62-65, 75a, 76-86, 88-92	= ,,	5, verses 1-20, 21b-23a, 24-30, 31b-39;
,,		= ,,	8, verses 1-13;
,,		= ,,	9, verses 1-13a and 14;
,,	1 0	= ,,	25, verses 3b-12;
,,	32, verses 50-54, 55b-67a, 68a, 69-73, 75a (partl 76-79 and 81		11, verses 1b-2a, 3b-5a, 9-11, 12b-16a, 19-31, 32a(partly), 34b-38,41;
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		= ,,	12, verses 5a, 9a, 11-20, 22-26;11,verses 42- 43; 12, verse 27;
,,		= ,,	14, verses 1, 4-17a, 18-24a and 26-34.
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That the above verses of the Brahma-p. originally belonged to some other source is shown by the fact that though in Brahma-p., chap. 28 Brahmā begins, at the request of the sages, to describe the place (kṣetra) of Koṇāditya or Koṇārka situated in Utkala (or Oḍradeśa) on the northern shore of the salt-ocean¹¹⁰, in chaps. 29-33

¹¹⁰ Brahma-p. 28, verses 1-2 (.......dakṣiṇodadhi-saṃsthitaḥ/ odradeśa iti khyātaḥ.....// samudrād uttaraṃ tāvat......), 11 (lavaṇasyodadhes tīre.....), 19-20, 56 and 64 (koṇārkasyodadhes tīre......).

he is found to describe Mitravana situated on the bank of the Candrasarit mostly in the same verses as found in the Sāmba-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p., no mention being made by him of Koṇāditya (or Koṇārka), of Utkala (or Oḍradeśa), or of the ocean in these chapters. A comparison between the above-mentioned chapters of the Brahma-p., on the one hand, and those chapters of the Sāmba and the Bhaviṣya-p. which have verses in common with the Brahma-p., on the other, shows definitely that the Brahma-p. borrowed these common verses from the Sāmba-p. For instance, many verses are found common to Brahma-p. 29, Sāmba-p. 38 and Bhav. I. 80-82 and 93; and a textual comparison between these chapters shows that Brahma-p. 29 agrees much more with Sāmba-p. 38 than with Bhav. I. 80-82 and 93. 111

The nature of agreement will be evident from the following table.

Brahma-p.	8	C= 1	one moni	the following tal
		Sāmba-p.		Bhavisya-p.
29. 1-2			=	
	=	3,8. 1-2	=	
-	=	_	-	I. 80. 1.
29. 31	=	38. 3a	=	
29. 3b-4a	-	38. 3b-4a	=	f. 80. 2.
	=	-	=	I. 80, 3-8.
29. 4b-6a	= 100	38. 4b-6a	=	
29. 6b-7a	=			
29. 7b-9a		38. 6b-8a	-	
29. 9b	-	- -	=	<u> </u>
29. 10-12	-	38. 8b-11a	=	_
. 29. 13a		38. 12a	=	_
29. 13b		38. 12b	=	
29. 14a	1=	38. 11b	_	_ */*
29. 14b-17		38. 13-16a		_
29. 18-20	=	38. 16b-19a	-	I. 80. 9-11.
	=	<u>-</u>	-	1, 80, 12-13.
29. 21	=	38. 19b-20a	=	I. 80. 14.
-	=	- 4	=	I. 80. 15.
29. 22a	-	38, 20b	=	I, 80, 16a.
29. 23-25b	=	38. 21b-23	=	I. 80. 16b-18.
29. 25b	=		=	
-	-	_	=	I. 80. 19.
29. 26	=	-	=	I. 80. 20.
-	=	-	=	I. 80. 21-36.

Similarly, the text of Brahma-p., chap. 30 follows much more that of Sāmba-p. 2 and 4-5 than of Bhav. I. 66, 74 and 67. The arrangements of those chapters of the Brahma, Sāmba and Bhaviṣya-p. in which the common verses occur, 112 also point to the Sāmba-p. as the source of the Brahma.

Brahma-p.		Sāmba-p.		Bhaviṣya-p.
29. 27-29a	_	38. 24-26a	=	
29. 27 29.		_	-	I. 81. 1.
29. 29b-31a		38. 26b-28a	= 1	I. 81. 2-3 and 15b-16a.
29. 290 3.1			=	I. 81. 4-15a.
			=	I. 81. 15b-18.
			=	I. 81, 1-2,
29. 31b		38. 28b	=	I. 82. 3a.
29. 310		_	=	I. 82. 3b-5.
29. 32a	_	38. 29a	=	I. 82, 5a.
29. 32b-35		38. 29b-32	=	
etc.		etc.		etc.
		1 (1 (-ha a	not only in the number

The text of the Brahma-p. follows that of the Samba-p. not only in the number of verses but also in their readings. For instance,

of verses but also in their	D 1	
Sāmba-p. 38.3b-deva-pūjā-phalam 38.4a-praṇipāte namas- kāre tathā caiva pradakṣiṇe	Bhaviṣya-p. I. 80.2a-sūrya-pūjā-phalaṃ I. 80.2b-praṇipāte phalaṃ yac ca gīta-vādye ca yat phalam	29.4a-same as in the Sāmba-p.
38.16b-pūjayā ca vivasvataḥ	I. 80.9a-pūjayā ca naro raveḥ	29.18a-pūjayāpi vivas- vatah
38.17b-bhūmyām namas- kāram karoti yaḥ	I. 80.10a-bhūmau namas- kāra-paro raveḥ	29.19a-same as in the Sāmba-p.
38.19a-sapta-dvīpā vasundharā	I. 80.11b-sapta-dvipā bhaven mahi etc.	29.20b-same as in the Samba-p. etc.
etc.		1f the Brahma-D.

For those few cases in which particular verses or readings of the Brahma-p. are found in the Bhavisya-p. and not in the Sāmba, the changes undergone by the Sāmba-p. are to be held responsible.

The corresponding chapters in these three Puranas are the following:

The corresponding	ing chapters in size	D1
Brahma-p.	Sāmba-p.	Bhavisya-p.
Chap. 29	Chap. 38	I. 80-82 and 93.
,, 30	Chaps. 2, 4 and 5	I. 66, 74 and 67. I. 54 (or 78 or 161),
,, 31	" 8, 9 and 25	78 and 128.
	,, 11 and 12	I. 79 and 121.
,, 32	01,	1. 123.
,, 33	Chap. 14	1 - Brahma

Note that most of the chapters of the Samba-p., which correspond to Brahma-p., chaps. 29-33, follow their preceding ones in regular succession.

The Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa khaṇḍa) also has a large number of verses in common with the Sāmba-p., Bhaviṣya-p. and Brahma-p. The corresponding chapters of these four Purāṇas in which the common verses occur are the following:—

Skanda-p.VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).i,	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
Chaps. 11-12	Chaps. 10-13 and	I. 79 and	Chap. 32.
	15	121-123	
Chaps. 100-101	Chaps. 4 (slightly),	I. 72-73 and	Chap. 31.
	3 and 9	78	
Chaps. 128 and	Chap. 25	I. 128	Chap. 31.
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A comparison between the texts of these corresponding chapters shows that the text of the Skanda-p. is based mainly on that of the Bhaviṣya but is sometimes supplemented by that of the Brahma-p., as the following table will indicate.

Skanda-p.VII (Prabhāsa-kh.).i	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.
11. 62-75	= 10.4b-17	= I. 79. 4b-87	= -
11.76	= -	= -	= -
11.77-80a	= 10. 18-20	= 1.79.18-21a	
	= 10.21	= I. 79. 21b-22a	= -
11. 80b-85a		=	
		= 1.79.22b	
_	= 11.13	= I. 79. 23a	= , -
_	= 11.1b	= 1.79.23b	= 32. 50a.
	= 11.2a	= -	= 32.50b.
	= 11. 2b-3a	=	
	= 11.3b-4	= -	= 32.51-52a.
11.85b	= 11.5a		= 32. 52b.
11.86-89	=		
	= 11.5b-8	=	
11. 90-91	= 11.9-10	= -	= 32. 53-54.
11.92	= -	= -	
11. 93a	= -		= 32. 55a.
11. 93b-94a	= 11.11		=32.55b-56a.

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Skanda-p.VII Sāmba-p. Bhavişya-p. Brahma-p.
  (Prabhāsa-kh.).i,
               = II. I2a
  11. 94b-95a
                           = I. 79. 24a
                                          = 32.56b.
  11.95b
               = 11. 12b
  11. 950-100
               = 11. 13-14a = I. 79. 24b-25
                                         = 3^2 \cdot 57.
Cf.11. 101.102
                                          = 32. 58a.
  11. 103a
  11. 103b
                                          = 32.58b.
  11. 104a
  11. 104b
                           =
                           = I. 79. 26a
                = 11. 14b
                           = I. 79. 26b
                                          = 32 59a.
                = 11. 15a
                                          = 32.59b.
                             11. 105a
                = 11.15b = I.72.27a
                                          =
                = 11. 16a = I. 79. 27b
                                          = 32.60a.
  11. 105b
                          = 1.79.28a
               = 11.16b
  11. 106a
               = 11.17-18 = 1.79.28b-30a =
  11. 106b-109a
                           = I. 79. 30b-31a = 32. 60b-61a.
               = 11.19
  11. 109b-110a
  11. 110b-112a
                                          = 32.61b-62b.
               = 11.20-21a = 1.79.31b-32
  11. 112b-113
                                          11. 114
                           = 1.79.33a
                                          = 32.62c.
               = 11.21b
  11. 115
                = 11.22a = 1.79.33b
  11. 116a
  11. 116b
                                          = 32.63-64.
  11. 117-118
                = 11.22b-24a = I.79.34-35
                   11.119
                                          = 32.65-67a.
                = 11.24b-26b = 1.79.36-38a
  II. 120-122a
                                          = 32.67b.
  11. 122b
  11. 123
                                          = 32.68a.
                = 11. 26c = I. 79. 38b
  11. 1242
                                          = 32.68b.
  11. 124b
                            = -
                =
                                          = 32.69-73.
                = 11.27-31 = 1.79.39-43
  11. 125-129
                                           = 32.74.
  11. 130
  13. 131
                                           =
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	•	SITOMIT (OPAPURAINAS		87
Skanda-p.VII (Prabhāsa-kh).i,		Sāmba-p.	Bhavisya-p.		Brahma-p.
11. 133-135	=				
		11. 32a	= I. 79. 44a		32· 75a
			73. 44.		(partly).
_	=				32. 75b.
		11. 32b	= I. 79. 44b	_	
Cf.11. 132		11. 33	= I. 79. 45	_	_
Cf.11. 136a		11. 34a	= I. 79. 46a		
Cf.11. 136b		11. 34b	= I. 79. 46b		
11. 137a		11. 35	= I. 79. 46c		32. 76a.
11. 137b-138a		_	= -		32. 76b.
11. 138b-140		11. 36-38	= I. 79. 47-49		
Cf. 11.141a		11. 39a	= -		32. 77-79.
		11. 39b	= -		32. 8ob.
11. 141b		_			- %
			= I. 79. 50		32. 80a.
11. 142		11. 41		=	_
11. 1431-148		-	= I. 79. 51 = -		32. 81.
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —					32. 82. 88
		11. 42-40a	= I. 79. 52-57	=	
			= -	=	
			= I. 79. 58-61	=	
_			= I. 79. 62a	=	
			= I. 79. 62b	=	10.0000
12. 1.2		11. 51b-53a	I = I. 79. 63-65a	=	
			= I. 79. 65b-67	=	
		11. 50a	= -	=	
12. 3-42	=	11. 506-57		=	-
	=	11. 58-65		=	
	=	_	= I. 79. 76	=	-
	=		= I. 79. 77-78a	=	
	=		= I. 79. 78b	=	
			= - - -	=	
	=		= I. 79. 79	=	-
	=		= I. 79. 80	=	-
-	=	11.69	= I. 79. 81	=	-

Skanda-p.VII	Sāmba-p.	Bhaviṣya-p.	Brahma-p.	
(Prabhāsa-kh.).i,				
		= I. 79. 8 ₂	=	-
	= 11.70	= -	-	
<u> </u>	= I2. I-2.	= I. 121. I-2	-	
	= 12.3	= -	=	_
	= 12.4	= I. 121.3	=	-
11. 149a	= 12.5a	= I. 121. 4a	= 32.	
11. 149b		= -	= 32.	89Ь.
_	= 12.5b-8	= I. 121. 4b.7	=	
11. 149c	= 12.9a	= I. 121.8a	= 32.	90a.
_	= 12.9b-10	= I. 121. 8b 9		
11. 150-151	= 12. 11.13a	= I. 121. 10-128	n = 32.	90b-92.
11. 152-163	= -	= -	=	
	= -		= 32.	93a.
etc.	etc.	etc.		etc.
11. 197		= I. 123.77	=	_
11. 198-199		=Cf.I.123.78-79	=	
11. 200b-201		= 1.123.80-81	=	_
11. 203		= I. 123.82	=	_
etc.	etc.	etc.		etc.

Much more striking is the resemblance between Skanda-p. VII.i. 100-101 and Bhav. I. 72-73 and 78 which agree not only in the number of verses but also in their contents. In Skanda-p. VII.i.100 and Bhav. 1.72 the sage Durvāsas is said to have cursed Sāmba to become a leper, because Sāmba imitated the uncouth look and movement of the sage; but in Sāmba-p., chap. 3, which corresponds to Skanda-p. VII.i.100, there is no such story of Durvāsas.

We are now in a position to discuss the dates of the different units of the present Samba-p.

This Purana not only mentions the Mahabharata in verse 15 of chap. I but also derives the majority of the verses of its chap. 45 (dealing with the story of the origin of shoes and umbrella) from the latter, viz.,

Sāmba-p.

Mahābhārara

Chap. 45, verses 3b-9, 10-25, = XIII (Anusasana-parvan). 95, verses 27-29, 31a, 32, 34b, 35b-38, and 39 (cf.)

7-13, 15-17a, 19 and 20b-28; 96, verses 1-2a, 3a, 4-8a, 12,

13b-15, 18-19, and 20-21 (cf.).

It speaks of many 'Purāṇas', 113 and refers most probably to the Skanda-p., Brahmanda-p., Vāyu-p., Mārkandeya-p., etc. 114 It knows the week-days, as it mentions Sunday on several occasions. 115 In Sāmba-p. 3. 52-53 Sāmba is said to have enraged the sage Durvāsas and become the object of his curse which brought about the destruction of the Yadu family through a mace (musala) born of Samba. 116 mention of Durvāsas as cursing Sāmba to give birth to a mace is found in Bhāgavata-p. X. 1. 12ff. In the Mahābhātata (XVI. 1. 15ff.) and the Visnu-p. (V.37.6ff.) the story of the birth of a musala from Samba is given, but in both these works Samba is said to have been cursed by the sages Viśvāmitra, Kanva and Nārada, but not by Durvāsas. So, the upper limit of the date of the Samba-p. should not be placed earlier than 500 A.D.

Again, the Samba-p. was mentioned by Alberuni in 1030 A.D.117. Candesvara quotes a verse from Samba p., chap. 36 in his Kṛtya-ratnā-

- 113 Sāmba-p. 5.9b-vedesu ca purāņesu sāngopāngesu giyate. The word 'purana' has also been used in the sense of 'old narrative'.-See Samba-p. 1.16; 5.33; and so on.
 - 114 Sāmba-p. 1. 8b-11tvayātra kathitā sūta purāņā bahu-vistarā/ şanmukhasya kathā cādau punar brahmāndam eva ca// vāyunāpi ca yat proktam tathā sāvarņikena ca/ mārkandeyena yat proktam yad vaišampāyanena ca// dadhīcinā ca yat proktam yac ca śarveņa bhāṣitam/ harināpi ca yat proktam rsibhih samudāhrtam// bālakhilyais ca yat proktam yac (v.l. 'tac' in Ind. Off. Ms) chrutam carsibhih saha//
 - Sāmba-p. 36.28; 38.26; 46.3; 51.117; and so on.
 - 116 sāmbena punar apy evam durvāsāh kopito munih/ bhavyenarthena catyartham purvanusmaranena vai// prāptavān sumahacchāpam sāmbo vai manujottamah/ tacchāpān musalam jātam kulam yenāsya pātitam //
 - Sachau, Alberuni's India, I, p. 130. 117

kara; Sūlapāņi has a few lines from chap. 46 in his Vratakāla-viveka; Halāyudha has three verses from chaps. 24 and 36 in his Brāhmanasarvasva; Vallālasena draws upon chaps. 36, 38 and 45 in his Dānasāgara; and Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda has, from chap. 9, a few lines (on the etymological meanings of the names 'Brahmā,' 'Varuṇa,' 'Mārtaṇḍa' and 'Mihira')118 in his commentary called Tīkā-sarvasva on Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. Sarvānanda quotes from the Sāmba-p. another line 119 which, as Sarvānanda says, was given in the Sāmba-p. in connection with the description of flags for different deities (dhvajanirnaya), but which is not found in Samba-p., chap. 33 (dealing with the same topic). Besides these, a few more verses of the 'Samba-p.' are found quoted in Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 24), Ananta-bhatta's Vidhāna-pārijāta, II, p. 519, Gadādhara's Kālasāra (pp. 125-126), Raghunandana's Smrti-tattva (I, p. 417), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaņi (III. ii, p. 644), and Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka (pp. 417 and 492), but none of these verses is found in the present Samba-p. We have already seen that the text of Skanda-p. VII. i, chaps. 11-12, 100-101, 128 and 240¹²⁰ is based on Bhavisya-p. I, chaps. 72-73, 78-79, 121-123 and 128 and Brahma-p., chaps. 31-32, that the Brahma-p. (chaps. 29-33) has borrowed a large number of verses from the Samba-p., and that the Bhavisya-p. has plagiarised a

The line, which Sarvananda quotes from the Samba-p. on the etymological meaning of the name 'mihira', is 'miheti secane dhatur mehanan mihirah smṛtaḥ'. But this line is not found in the present Samba-p. That this line once did occur in chap. 9 of the present Samba-p. is shown definitely by the fact that though towards the beginning of this chapter the Samba-p. first gives the 24 names of the Sun and then proposes, in verse 15, to give the etymological meanings (dhātvartha-nigama) of these names, it actually gives the etymological meanings of 23 names, and makes no mention of the name 'mihira'.

119 Tikā-sarvasva, p. 20tad uktam sāmbapurāne dhvaja-nirnayetālas tālākṛtiḥ kāryo makaro makarākṛtiḥ.

This line (tālas tālākṛtiḥ) has its parallel in verse 38b of Bhav. I, 138 which

corresponds to Samba-p., chap. 33.

120 For the comparatively late date of many of the chapters of the present Prabhāsa-khanda, see foot-note 35 under Saura-p. in Vol. II of the present work. See also Hazra, Puranic Records, p. 163.

large section, including complete chapters, of the Sāmba-p. Now, Brahma-p. 29-33 (on Koṇārka in Orissa) are to be dated between 950 and 1200 A.D.;¹²¹ and the Bhaviṣya-p. must have borrowed the chapters of the Sāmba-p. not later than 950 A.D., because Varāha-p., chap. 177¹²² mentions the story of Sāmba as occurring in the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa,' and among the verses quoted by Jīmūtavāhana, Vallālasena and Hemādri from the Bhaviṣya-p. there are some which are common to the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p. Hence the date of the Sāmba-p. cannot be placed later than 800 A.D.

Thus the Sāmba-p. is to be dated between 500 and 800 A.D. As this Purāna is mentioned in all the lists of eighteen Upapurānas as well as in Matsya-p. 53 and Skanda-p. VII. i. 2, it seems to have been composed towards the beginning of this period. J. N. Farquhar also supposes, without adducing much evidence, that the present Sāmba-p. was written between 550 and 900 A.D.¹²⁴

The above date of the Samba-p. is certainly not the date of all its chapters. We have already seen that the chapters of the present Samba-p. are to be divided into two main groups, viz.,

- (1) chaps. 1-38, 44-46, and 84, and
- (2) chaps. 39-43 and 47-83,

121 See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 153-4 and 156.

122 For the probable date of Varaha-p., chap. 177, see Hazra, Puranic Records, pp. 105-106.

Bhav. I. 81. 2-3 and 15b-16a, quoted in Jimūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, p. 415, are the same as Sāmba-p. 38. 26b-28a; Bhav. I. 81. 2, quoted in Kālaviveka. p. 492 and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 63, and II. i, p. 663, is the same as Sāmba-p. 31. 26b-27a; Bhav. I. 93. 42a, quoted in Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, p. 681 is the same as Sāmba-p. 38. 55a; Bhav. I. 81. 3, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 663, is the same as Sāmba-p. 38. 27b-28a; Bhav. I. 208. 4-16a, 17-18a, 21-22a and 30b-34a, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 687-690, are the same as Sāmba-p. 46, verses 3b-4a, 5b-6, 7-9a, 10-20a and 28b-32; Bhav. I. 209. 1-5a, 6b-12a and 13b-14a, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 724-725, are the same as Sāmba-p. 46, verses 33b-37 and 40-46; Bhav. I, chaps. 55-57 and 58 (verses 1-33), quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 424-440, are very much the same as Sāmba-p.. chaps. 34 and 35; and so on.

124 Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 205.

and that the chapters of the second group were added to the Samba-p. at a later date. We have also noted that among the chapters of the first group, there are a few interpolated ones, viz., chaps. 17, 22-23, 33 and 44-45, and that none of these interpolated chapters, except chap. 33, occurs in the Bhavisya-p. So, chap. 33, though spurious, must have been added to the Samba-p. before the Bhavisya-p. borrowed chapters from the Samba-p. Thus it is to be dated between 700 and 950 A.D. The remaining interpolated chapters, viz., 17, 22-23 and 44-45, which do not occur in the Bhavisya-p., must have been inserted after 950 A.D. This late date of insertion of these lastmentioned chapters must not be taken to indicate that all the verses of these chapters were composed at a later date. We have already seen that chap. 45 (dealing with the origin of shoes and umbrella) is composed of verses mostly taken from Mahābhārata XIII. 95 and 96. Chap. 44 also (which deals with manners and customs laid down in aphorisms and which records two metrical gathas125, one of which is said to have been sung by Yama) must have been based on an earlier work. As, of these two chapters (44-45), the latter is drawn upon by Vallalasena, and as chap. 45 refers to, and is introduced by, chap. 44, it is sure that chaps. 44 and 45 were inserted at the same time and that this insertion was made before 1050 A. D. It should be mentioned here that none of the early Nibandha-writers quotes even a single line from chap. 44, although it deals with manners and customs (ācāra).

The chapters of the second group do not occur in the Bhavisya-p. Unlike the chapters of the first group, they are full of Tantric elements. So, they must have been added to the Samba-p. after Vallalasena's time; otherwise, Vallalasena would never quote verses from the

atra gāthā yamena gitā—

āyur asya nikṛntati prajā nāsya bhavet tathā/

ya ucchiṣṭaḥ prapaṭhati svādhyāyam cādhigacchati//

and

atra gāthā ākrośaka-samo loke suhṛd anyo na vidyate/ yas tu duṣkṛtam ādāya sukṛtenābhiśaṃsati//

Samba-p., so deep his hatred towards Tantricism was. 126 These chapters with Tantric elements seem to have been added before 1500 A. D., because Gadadhara quotes from the Samba-p. a line127 in which a worshipper is directed to perform nyasa according to the prescribed manner before worshipping the deity, and Mitra Miéra quotes a verse128 in which people, who have deviated from the path of the Vedas, are advised to take recourse to Tantras in order that they may gradually return to the path of the Vedas. Likewise, Ananta-bhatta quotes from the same Purana another verse which says, "For the sake of those who deviated from the Veda the lord of Kamala spoke out the Pāñcarātra (Tantra), the Bhāgavata (Tantra) and the Tantra named Vaikhānasa."129

The results of the above analysis, so far as chronology is concerned, are as follows: -

Group I-

the spurious chapters), 2-15, 16, the beginning of this period). 18-21, 24-32, 34-38, 46 and 84.

(1) Chaps. 1 (except verses 17- - Composed between 500 and 800 25 which give the contents of A. D. (Most probably towards

(2) Chaps. 17 and 22-23 — Added later than 950 A. D.

(3) Chap. 33

-Added between 700 and 950 A. D.

(4) Chaps. 44-45

-Inserted into the Samba-p. between 950 and 1050 A.D.

Group II-

(1) Chaps. 39-43 and 47-83 —Added between 1250 and 1500

A. D.

126 For the names of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas which Vallālasena rejected wholly or partly as unauthoritative for their Tantric elements see Danasagara, p. 7 (verses 59 and 63-67).

127 Kālasāra, p. 126—evam nyāsa-vidhim kṛtvā tataḥ pūjām samācaret.

128 śruti-bhrastah śruti-prokta-prāyaścitte bhayam gatah/ kramena śruti-siddhyartham manusyas tantram āśrayet / /

(Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 23).

pañcarātram bhāgavatam tantram vaikhānasābhidham/ 129 veda-bhrastān samuddisya kamalā-patir uktavān / /

Vidhāna-pārijāta, II, p. 519.

(The second group is made up of a few units, viz.,

(a) chaps. 39-41 —on initiation to Sun-worship;

(b) chaps. 42-43 — on the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean;

(c) chaps. 47-52 — on japa-yajña-vidhi, mudrā-lakṣaṇa, pūjā-vidhāna, etc.;

(d) chaps. 53-55 (verses 1-97) —which are originally Saura:

(e) chaps. 55 (verses 98 ff.)-83 —which exhibit Saiva influence and seem to have belonged originally to some other work).

The original chapters, which are now found in the present Sambape, were not all that constituted this Purana originally. That several chapters have been lost, or rather eliminated, from this Purana, will be clear from the following evidences.

After narrating how Sāmba dishonoured Nārada and became the object of Kṛṣṇa's curse Vasiṣṭha says in Sāmba-p. 3. 52-53—

"sāmbena punar apy evam durvāsāh kopito munih/ bhāvyenārthena cātyartham pūrvānusmaranena vai// prāptavān sumahacchāpam sāmbo vai manujottamah/ tacchāpān musalam jātam kulam yenāsya pātitam//"

"(Being urged) by destiny and by the recollection of the previous (event) Samba enraged very much the sage Durvasas again in the same way. Samba, the best of men, received a severe curse, (and) due to that curse there was born a mace which destroyed his family". The words 'punar api' and 'pūrvānusmaranena' in the former verse show that the story of Samba's creation of Narada's displeasure and his incurring the curse of Kṛṣṇa was preceded by the story of Sāmba's incurring the displeasure of Durvasas and becoming the object of the latter's curse. But in the present Samba-p. there is no such story That this story once occurred in the Samba-p. is about Durvāsas. shown by the Bhavisya-p. (I. 72. 14-20) which states that once Durvāsas came to Dvāravatī in course of his wanderings. At the sight of the tawny eyes, extremely emaciated body, and ugly look of the sage, Samba, who was proud of his physical beauty, ridiculed him by imitating his uncouth look and movement. Durvasas was enraged at Samba's behaviour and cursed him to became a leper before long.

This Purāṇa then narrates, like the Sāmba-p., the story of Nārada's arrival at Dvāravatī in order to see Vāsudeva, Sāmba's negligence towards the sage, and Kṛṣṇa's curse on Sāmba, and concludes with the verse—

sāmbena punar apy eva durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ/tac-chāpān musalaṃ jātaṃ kulaṃ yenāsya ghātitam//(Bhav. I. 73, 44).

These stories of Durvāsas and Nārada are also found in Skanda-p. VII. i. 100 (verses 12-17) and 101 (verses 1-43) which are the same as Bhav. I. 72 (verses 14-20) and 73 (verses 1-43a).

In Bhav. I. 140.23a Sāmba asks Vyāsa to tell him who the Magas and the Bhojakas were and how they became the worshippers of the Sun (katham pūjākarā hy ete kim magāh kim ca bhojakāh). Consequently, in Bhav. I. 140. 29ff. Vyāsa speaks on the Magas and the Bhojakas 'in the same way as he was told about these by Vasiṣṭha' (cf. yathākhyātam vasiṣṭhena tathā te vacmi kṛtsnaśaḥ—Bhav. I. 140. 30b) and says at the end of Bhav. I. 144—

"makāra-dhyāna-yogāc ca magā hy ete prakīrtitāḥ//dhūpa-mālyair yataś cāpi upahārais tathaiva ca/bhojayanti sahasrāṃśuṃ tena te bhojakāḥ smṛtāḥ//"

But in Sāmba-p., chap. 27 (in which Vasiṣṭha speaks to king Bṛhadbala, and of which verses 1-4 agree with Bhav. I. 140. 20-23, and verses 6-18 and 19b-23 agree with Bhav. I. 144. 9b-16a, 17-24 and 25b-26) there is no account of the Bhojakas; and the word 'bhojaka' has been replaced, obviously for the sake of this elimination, by the word 'yājaka' in Sāmba-p. 27. 4a ('kathaṃ pūjākarā hy ete kiṃ magāḥ kiṃ ca yājakāḥ' which corresponds to Bhav. I. 143. 23a mentioned above) and 22b-23 (makāra-dhyāna-yogāc ca magā¹30 hy ete prakīrtitāḥ// dhūpa-mālyair japaiś cāpi hy upahārais tathaiva ca/y ye yajanti sahasrāṃśuṃ tena te yājakāḥ smṛtāḥ//). Nay, in other verses also of the Sāmba-p. the word 'yājaka' has been substituted for the word 'bhojaka'.¹³¹¹ That the word 'yājaka', now found in the

¹³⁰ The printed text wrongly reads 'maya' for 'magah'.

¹³¹ See Sāmba-p. 30, 22b—brāhmaņebhyas tato dattvā yājakebhyaś ca dakṣiṇām (=Bhav. I. 131. 36b—...dattvā bhojakebhyaś ca......);

Sāmba-p., was a later substitute for the original word 'bhojaka' and that an account of the Bhojakas once occurred after Sāmba-p. 27. 4a, are proved not only by the above comparison of the texts of the Sāmba and the Bhaviṣya-p. but also by the fact that the word 'bhojaka' has been retained in Sāmba-p. 27. 3. In Sāmba-p. 36. 36a (= Bhav. I. 143. 37a) also, the word 'bhojaka' is found to occur. As the Bhojakas have not been mentioned in any of the verses preceding Sāmba-p. 27. 3a, Bṛhadbala's anxiety to know about the Bhojakas (cf. kiṃ tu cintayataḥ sūryaṃ cintayitvā tu bhojakān) in Sāmba-p. 27. 3ff. indicates that there were verses on the Bhojakas preceding Sāmba-p. 27. 3.

It will be interesting here to note why and by whom the accounts of the Bhojakas were eliminated from the Samba-p. and the word

'bhojaka' was substituted by the word 'yājaka' in it.

The indiscriminate use of the names 'Maga' and 'Bhojaka' for the Sun-worshippers in the Sāmba-p. shows that this Purāṇa makes no serious distinction between the Magas and the Bhojakas. According to this Purāṇa, a Sun-worshipper was called Maga, because he meditated on the syllable '\(\pi^{133}\); he was also called Bhojaka, because he worshipped the Sun with incense, garlands and other offerings 134. In Bhav. I. 140 (verses 20-23) and 144 also, which correspond to Sāmba-p. 27, the Magas and the Bhojakas are not at all distinguished.

32. 35b — havişyam bhojayitvā tu brāhmaṇān yājakāṃs tathā (=Bhav. I. 136. 44a—haviṣyabhojakāmāṃs tu brāhmaṇān bhojakāṃs tathā); 32. 47a—viprebhyo yājakebhyaś ca tato dadyāc ca dakṣiṇām (=Bhav. I. 136. 67b—viprebhyo bhojakebhyaś ca.....).

kim tu cintayatah sūryam cintayitvā subhojakān/
jñānam prati tathā caiṣām hṛdaye mama saṃśayaḥ//
katham pūjākarā hy ete kim magāh kim ca yājakāh/

etc. etc. etc

The verse 'kim tu cintayatah' is the same as Bhav. I. 140, 22. The Bhavisya-p. reads 'tu bhojakān' for 'subhojakān' of the Sāmba-p.

133 The syllable 'म' was regarded as a symbol for the Sun.—See Bhav. I. 144, 25a—makāro bhagavān devo bhāskaraḥ parikīrtitaḥ. This line does not occur in the Sāmba-p.

134 See Sāmba-p. 27.22b-23 (=Bhav. I. 144. 25b-26; the Bhavisya-p. reads 'magāḥ' for 'mayā', and 'bhojakāḥ' for 'yājakāḥ' of the Sāmba-p.).

It is even said in the Bhavisya-p. that none becomes entitled to attain final emancipation without acquiring the qualifications of a Bhojaka¹³⁵. But in Bhav. I. 139. 9b-69 (which are not found in the Sāmba-p.), the Magas and the Bhojakas are described as the descendants of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra) who was cursed to be regarded as 'apūjya' (not deserving honour) by the Fire sustained by Hāralīlā (or Hāvanī), daughter of the sage Rjiśvan; and in Bhav. I. 140, verses 1-19 and 24-50 and chap. 141 (which also do not occur in the Sāmba-p.) the Bhojakas are said to have descended from those ten of the eighteen Sun-worshipping Magas who were married to the girls of the Kṣatriyan Bhoja family by Sāmba¹³⁶. From these stories of the Bhaviṣya-p., which are mostly imaginary but not without any basis on historical facts, and from the other accounts of the Magas and the Bhojakas as occurring in the common portions of the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p. we make the following deductions:

- (i) The Sun-worshipping Magas, who came to India in early times, were, in course of time, divided into two groups known as Magas and Bhojakas.
- (ii) In spite of their ritualistic, and sometimes ideological, differences, which appear to have been partly responsible for their separation, the Bhojakas were at first regarded as holy Brahmins¹³⁷ as much as, or even more than, the Magas.
- (iii) Due to their objectionable activities and matrimonial relations, as known from Bhav. I. 140 (except verses 20-23), 141 and 146 (which do not occur in the Sāmba-p.), the Bhojakas came to lose their position of respect with the progress of time and turned Devalaka Brahmins (temple-priests) attached to Sun-temples. They were hated so much that other Brahmins looked upon them as 'apānk-

nāgatvā bhojakatvam hi mokṣam āpnoti kaścana.

See also Bhav. I. 171-172 in which Bhojakas have been praised, so much so that they have been identified with the Sun himself (tat sūryo bhojakaḥ so 'tra bhojakaḥ sūrya eva hi,—Bhav. I. 172. 51a).

¹³⁵ Bhav. 1. 144. 7a-

¹³⁶ See especially Bhav. I. 140 (verses 7-19) and 141 (verses 4-10).

¹³⁷ Cf. Bhav. I. 141. 9a-

bhojakāms tān gaņān prāhur brāhmaņān divya-samjñitān.

teya' (unfit for sitting in the same row with them at meals) and did not take food prepared or served by them¹³⁸. In his Bhāṣya on Manu-smṛṭi 2. 6 Medhātithi names the Bhojakas as extra-Vedic people having no connection with the Vedas¹³⁹.

(iv) Besides the Sun-worshipping Magas and Bhojakas mentioned above, there came to India in later times other Magas who were the Fire-worshipping followers of Zoroaster and must have left Iran as a

result of the spread of Islam after the sixth century A. D.

(v) The Sun-worshipping Magas did not look upon these Fire-worshipping followers of Zoroaster with respect. They recognised these new Magas as Brahmins of low status like the Bhojakas, and, in order to win them over to Sun-worship, invented the story of the birth of Jarasabda (or Jarasastra, i.e. Zoroaster), from whom both the Fire-worshipping Magas and the Sun-worshipping Bhojakas are said to have descended. The motive underlying this peculiar story is evidently to impress upon the Fire-worshipping Magas that their religious leader Zoroaster was really the son of the Sun and worshipped the Sun-god in the form of Fire, that they could attain final liberation from bondage not by Fire-worship but by worshipping the Sun through Fire as a medium, and that they were free to retain, to a great extent, their own peculiar practices, viz., use of 'patidana', holding of 'pūrṇaka' and 'varśma', having matted hair and beards, offering of Soma during worship, and so on.

(vi) A section of the Fire-worshipping Magas must have been absorbed by the Bhojakas, and this seems to be the cause why both the Fire-worshipping Magas and the Sun-worshipping Bhojakas have

been said to be the descendants of Jarasabda (or Jarasastra).

138 Bhav, I, 146, 1-3—
śatānīka uvāca—
ya ete bhojakāḥ proktā devadevasya pūjakāḥ/
nānnaṃ bhojyam athaiteṣāṃ brāhmaṇaiś ca kadācana//

abhojyatvam katham yātā bhojakās tad vadasva me//
139 See Medhātithi's Bhāṣya on Manu-smṛti 2.6—na hi śākya-bhojaka-kṣapaṇakādīnām veda-saṃbhavaḥ....../ evam sarva eva bāhyā bhojaka-pāñcarātrika-nirgranth-ānarthavāda-pāśupata-prabhṛtayaḥ...../

From inscriptional evidence we learn that the Bhojakas enjoyed a respectable position at least down to the eighth century A.D. Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and Jīvitagupta II, who reigned in Magadha in the fifth and eighth centuries A.D. respectively, are said to have shown respect to the Bhojaka Brahmins of Magadha and to have made donations of land to them. 140 But from the tenth century A.D. the descendants of Brahmins from Sāka-dvīpa called their ancestors 'Magas' or 'Sāka-dvīpī' Brahmins but not 'Bhojakas' at least in Magadha and Bengal. This fact is evidenced not only by a number of inscriptions (such as the Govindapura stone inscription 141 which mentions the Māna kings of Magadha), but also by the Kulaji-granthas and other works. 142 It is clearly for this lowered position of the Bhojakas that the word 'bhojaka' has been replaced with the word 'yājaka' in the Samba-p., and this replacement seems to have been made by the people of Orissa who added chaps. 42-43 to the Samba-p. in order to glorify the Sun's place on the sea-coast there.

Scholars are inclined to regard the Sāmba-p. as 'a Saura document connected with Orissa'. 143 But this view is untenable. We have already seen that the present Sāmba-p. is originally a work connected with Mitravana in the Punjab and that it is only the interpolated chaps. 42-43 which deal with the Sun's penance-forest in Orissa.

The present Sāmba-p. must have been written in Northern India, and most probably in its western part. With the exception of the rivers Tapatī and Payoṣṇī, all the holy places and rivers, mentioned in this Purāṇa, belong to Northern India, especially to its western part. 444

- 140 Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III (Gupta Inscriptions), p. 217.
- 141 For this inscription see Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 59-64-
- 142 For the names of many of these works as well as for the relevant extracts from them, see Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 66ff.
- 143 Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 205. Nagendra Nath Vasu, Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. I, p. xii; and Viśvakoṣa (a Bengali encyclopaedia), Vol. IV, pp. 545-548. Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, pp. 439ff.
 - 144 See foot-note 62 above.

According to the Saura-samhitā of the Skanda-p. the Sāmba-p. was also called 'Susūkṣma'. 145 A 'Bhāskara-purāṇa' is mentioned in Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 199. 4-5 as dealing with the story of the birth of the two Nāsatyas (nose-born, i.e. the Aśvins) in connection with the praise of Mārtaṇḍa. 146 This 'Bhāskara-purāṇa' may be the same as the present Sāmba-p., because the latter also calls itself 'bhāskarasya purāṇam' in verse 13 of chap. 1 and contains the story of the birth of the Aśvins in chaps. 10-11. In his Malamāsa-tattva Raghunandana gives from the 'Kaurma' (i.e. Kūrma-p.) a list of Upapurāṇas including the Sāmba-p. and a Purāṇa 'named Bhāskara' (bhāskarāhvayam). 147 So, this Bhāskara-p. of the Malamāsa-tattva must be different from the Sāmba-p. Both Raghunandana and Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, the commentator on the Malamāsa-tattva, identify this Bhāskara-p. with the Āditya-p. 148

D. R. Bhandarkar mentions a Sūrya-purāṇa as known to the Brahmins called Sevaks, who live round about Jodhpur. 149 But as we

145 Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382 tataḥ sāmbapurāṇākhyaṃ susūkṣmam iti ceritam.

adityasya sutau tāta nāsatyau yena hetunā/
samjātau śrotum icchāmi nirņayam paramam dvija//
mārkandeya uvāca—
purāne bhāskare tāta etad vistarato mayā/
samśrutam devadevasya mārtandasya mahātmanah//

147 Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3.

148 Smṛṭi-tattva, I, pp. 792-3 kaurme—

'anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api/'
tāni ca narasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīni, yathā—
'ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ tataḥ param/' etc.

See also Malamāsa-tattva (Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa's edition with Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's com.), pp. 212-3—bhāskarāhvayam āditya-purāṇam,

149 'Round about Jôdhpur there is a class of Brâhmaṇas known as Sêvaks, most of whom are religious dependants of the Osvâl Śrâvaks. They call themselves Śâkadvîpa Brâhmaṇas and know that their story is told in the Namagrantha of the Sûrya-puraṇa and also in the Bhaviṣya-puraṇa'.—Ep. Ind., IX, p. 279.

are quite ignorant of the contents of this Purana, we do not know whether it is the same as the Samba-p. or not.

The whole of the present Sāmba-p. is not metrical. There are portions which are written in prose (viz., in chaps. 39, 41, 52, and so on). Chap. 44 is written in a sūtra form.

We have already seen that the Sāmba-p. has borrowed verses from the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata. It has also derived verses from the Bhagavad-gītā¹⁵⁰ and the Upaniṣads.

Though, as we have already seen, the present Sāmba-p. in its original form was connected with Mitravana of the Punjab, it must have known the other two most prominent places of Sun-worship, viz., Kālapriya and Sutīra. This is evidenced by the verse

"sāmnidhyam mama pūrvāhņe udite rajyate janaḥ/kālātyaye ca madhyāhne sāyāhne cātra nityaśaḥ//;" (Sāmba-p. 26.14) which is a changed form of the original verse

"sāmnidhyam mama pūrvāhņe sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ/kālapriye ca madhyāhne 'parāhṇe cātra nityasaḥ//"

retained in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a. That Sutīra was the same as Muṇḍīra mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p., Skanda-p. etc. and was situated in Orissa, and that Kālapriya was situated on the bank of the Yamunā, will be evident from the following discussion.

According to Bhav. I. 72. 4-6 the three places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa are Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana, and it is only at Sāmbapura (in Mitravana) that the Sun resides permanently.¹⁵¹

150 See, for instance, Samba-p. 5. 20 and 14. 17 (= Bhagavad-gita 13. 13).

sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe 'smin bhāskarasya tu/
pūrvam indravanaṃ (v.l. 'mitrabalaṃ' and 'mitravanaṃ'
for 'indravanaṃ') nāma tathā muṇḍīram ucyate//
kālapriyaṃ (v. l. kolapriyaṃ) tṛtīyaṃ tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam/
tathānyad api te vacmi yat purā brahmaṇoditam//
candrabhāgā-taṭe nāmnā puraṃ yat sāmba-saṃjñitam/
dvīpe 'smiñ chāśvataṃ sthānaṃ yatra sūryasya nityatā//

Though the reading 'indravanam' occurs in the body of the text of our printed edition as well as in the Ms of the Bhavisya-p. described by Aufrecht in his Bod. Cat. (p. 31, foot-note 6), the reading 'mitravanam' is undoubtedly the

But in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a the Sun, speaking of Mitravana, says:

"sāmnidhyam mama pūrvāhņe sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ/, kālapriye ca madhyāhne 'parāhņe cātra nityasaḥ/,/;"

"People will ever see my proximity at Sutīra in the forenoon, at Kālapriya at mid-day, and here in the afternoon". Thus in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a the names of the three places of the Sun are given as Sutīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana. In Bhav. I. 189. 23-26 Puṇḍīra-svāmin, 152 Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna have been mentioned among the places which are said to be resorted to by gods and Siddhas; and in Bhav. I. 55. 27 Suṇḍīrasvāmin, 153 Kālapriya and Mitravana are found mentioned among the holy places from which water should be collected for bathing the Sun's image in its annual worship. In Varāha-p. 177, in which the story of Sāmba's penance for the Sun's favour in order to get rid of leprosy caused by Kṛṣṇa's curse¹⁵⁴ has been narrated briefly with the mention of the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' as the source, Sāmba is said to have established three images of the Sun—one on the Udayā-cala, another, named Kālapriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the

correct one; because the name 'Mitravana' has been mentioned in a large number of verses in the Bhavisya-p., whereas there is no second mention of 'Indravana' anywhere in the whole Purāṇa. Moreover, Skanda-p. VII. i. 100. 2b-3a, which reproduces the verse 'sthānāni trīṇi devasya' of the Bhavisya-p., reads 'mitravanam' and not 'indravanam'; and in the Sāmba-p., the name of the place is given as Mitravana in all cases.

Aufrecht's Ms of the Bhavisya-p. reads 'mundaram' for 'mundiram'. But the evidences of the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 100. 3a and 139. 11a) and the Samba-p. (43. 41 and 53) show that the reading 'mundiram' is the correct one.

For the name 'Kālapriya' see Aufrecht's Ms of the Bhavisya-p., Varāha-p. 177. 52, Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11b, and Bhav. I. 129. 17a.

152-153 'Puṇḍirasvāmi' and 'Suṇḍirasvāmi' are obviously mistakes for 'Muṇḍirasvāmi'. Cf. Skanda-p. VIII. i. 139. 11 (muṇḍira-svāminam prātar gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgame), Bhav. I. 72. 4 (.....muṇḍiram ucyate), and Sāmba-p. 43. 41b and 53b (muṇḍiram).

154 For the story of Samba as given in Varaha-p., chap. 177, see foot-note 87 above.

third, named Mūlasthāna, on the Astamānācala. So, from the Varāha-p. we get the names of the three places of Sun-worship as Udayācala, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna. 156 According to Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11-12a the Sun resided in the morning at Gangā-sāgarasangama as Mundīrasvāmin; at mid-day he resorted to the bank of the Yamuna as Kalapriya; and in the evening he remained on the bank of the Candrabhāgā as Mūlasthāna. 157 In Skanda-p. VI.76 also the names of the three places and forms of Bhaskara have been given as Mundīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna, and it has been said that the Sun presents himself at Mundīra after the expiry of the night, at Kālapriya at mid-day, and at Mūlasthāna at the approach of the night, that Mundira is situated 'in the eastern part of the earth', Kalapriya in its middle, and Mūlasthāna (in its western part) beyond Kālapriya, and that, while residing at Mundira and Kalapriya, the Sun is also known as Muṇḍīrasvāmin and Kālanātha (or Kālavallabha) respectively.158 So, occording to the Skanda-p. the names of the three places of the Sun are Mundīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna.

Verses 51b-53—
sāmbaḥ sūrya-pratiṣṭhāṃ ca kārayāmāsa tattvavit/
udayācale ca saṃśrito yamunāyāś ca dakṣiṇe//
madhye kālapriyaṃ devaṃ madhyāhne sthāpya cottamam/
mūlasthānaṃ tataḥ paścād astamānācale ravim//
sthāpya trimūrtiṃ sāmbas tu.....//

The use of the names Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna for the images of the Sun situated on the south of the Yamunā and on the Astamānācala respectively, need not confuse us. These names for the images must have been derived from the names of the places at which these images were situated. Similar instances of the use of place-names for those of the images are found in Varāha-p. 177. 54-56 (in which Sāmbapura is mentioned as the name of an image of the Sun at Mathurā), and Sāmba-p. 43. 39-41 (in which 'Muṇḍīra' is said to be a name of the Sun's image established by Manus in the Sun's penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean).

muṇḍīrasvāminam prātar gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgame/ kālapriyam tu madhyāhne yamunā-tīram āśritam// mūlasthānam cāstamane candrabhāgā-taṭe sthitam//

158 See Sk VI. 76. 1-3, 5, 22. 44-45, 59-60, 71. Of these, verses 3 and 5 run as follows:—

tatra samkramate sūryo mundīre rajanī kṣaye/ kālapriye ca madhyāhne mūlasthāne kṣapāgame//

As regards the position of these places, the Bhavisya and the Skanda-p. say that the Sun is close to Sutīra (or Mundīra according to the Skanda-p.) in the forenoon, to Kalapriya at mid-day, and to Mitravana (or Mūlasthāna according to the Skanda-p.) in the after-The Varāha-p. also contains clear references to the belief that the greatest benefit was derived by worshipping the rising Sun on the Udayacala, the mid-day Sun at Kalapriya, and the setting Sun at that Mundīra, Sutīra and Hence it is evident Mūlasthāna.160 Udayācala were situated in the eastern part of India, Kālapriya in the middle, and Mitravana and Mulasthana in its western part. Mūlasthāna (literally meaning 'original place'), which is said in the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 139. 12a) to have been situated on the bank of the Candrabhaga and in the Padma-p. to have been the abode of Samba and which is mentioned in Bhav. I. 189. 24-25 along with Puṇdīrasvāmin and Kālapriya, must be the same as Mitravana (in the Punjab)161 which is said to be the adya-sthana (original place) of the

> muņdīrah pūrva-dig-bhāge dharitryāh śrūyate kila/ madhye kalapriyo devo mulasthanam tad-antare//

159 See Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a cited above, and Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11-12a and VI. 76. 3 and 5 cited in the two immediately preceding foot-notes (157 and 158).

Cf. Varāha-p. 177. 36-38a-160 yathodayācale devam ārādhya labhate phalam/ mathurāyām tathā gatvā satsūrye labhate phalam// madhyāhne ca tathā devam phalapriyam akalmaṣam/ mathurāyām ca madhyāhne madhyamdina-ravau tathā/ astamgate tathā devam sadyo rājya-phalam bhavet/ mathurāyām tathā puņyam udayāstam raver japam//,

(Did the third line read 'madhyāhne ca yathā devam kālapriyam akalmaṣam'?)

See also Varāha-p. 177. 31-32sāmba sāmba mahābāho śṛṇu jāmbavatī-suta/ udayācale ca pūrvāhņe udyantam tu vibhāvasum// namaskuru yathanyayam vedopanisadadibhih/ tvayoditam ravih śrutvą tustim yasyati nanyatha / /

Cf. also Varāha-p. 177. 52-53 cited in foot-note 155 above.

161 For the identification of Mitravana with Mulasthana (modern Multan) in the Punjab, see Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc., p. 154; Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 152; N. L. De, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 133-4; and so on.

Sun in a number of places both in the Bhavisya and the Sāmba-p., and Kālapriya was evidently situated on the southern bank of the Yamunā, as the Varāha and the Skanda-p. show.¹⁶² So, the problems, which remain to be solved, are whether Mundīra, Sutīra and Udayācala are identical, and where we are to locate the place or places bearing these names.

We have already seen that in its two lists of the names of the three prominent places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa the Bhaviṣya-p. mentions 'Muṇḍīra' in the one (viz., I. 72. 4) but replaces it by 'Sutīra' in the other (viz., I. 129. 16b). So, according to the Bhaviṣya-p. Muṇḍīra and Sutīra are identical. This identification is supported by the Sāmba-p. (chaps. 42-43) which informs us that the 'beautiful' (ramya) penance-forest of the Sun (in Orissa) was situated on the 'shore' (tīra) of the salt-ocean (lavaṇodadhi), that the sight of the rising Sun there was deemed highly meritorious, and that the Sun's image, which was established there by Manus, was given a name 'Muṇḍīra'. 163 So, Sutīra (literally meaning 'beautiful shore') must be another name for Muṇḍīra, which, again, must be very close to, or even identical with, Koṇārka 164 situated on the sea-shore very close to the river Candrabhāgā (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa). In Sāmba-p., chaps. 42-43 the Sun's penance-forest on the sea-shore

162 Varāha-p. 177. 52. Skanda-p. VII. i, 139. 11.

163 Sāmba-p. 43. 40-41-

tato nāma prakurvanti samprahṛṣṭa-tanūruhāḥ/
anena muṇḍitāḥ sarve tena muṇḍita ucyate//
atha kṛṭārtha-samiñāś ca nigamajñair udāhṛṭāḥ/
muṇḍi pramardane dhātuḥ samiñāyām ca vidhīyate/
prakarṣād ardayed yena tena muṇḍīra ucyate//

Also Sāmba-p. 43. 53-54a-

ekā mūrtir dvidhā kṛtvā bhūtaleṣv avatāritā/ pratyūṣe caiva muṇḍīraṃ ye paśyanti narāḥ sakṛt// na kadācid bhayaṃ śoko rogas teṣāṃ prapadyate/

164 Though the name 'Koṇārka' does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., the Sun is called 'koṇa-vallabha' in Bhav. I. 153. 50. So, it seems that in later times Mundīra came to be known as Koṇārka because of its position in the north-east corner (koṇa) with respect to Puri. (See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 437).

(in Orissa) has been called Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Sūryakṣetra and once Mitravana;165 in the Kapila-saṃhitā Koṇārka has been called Maitreya Vana and Ravi-ksetra;166 and in Brahma-p., chaps. 28-32 the place (kṣetra) of Koṇāditya or Koṇārka in Utkala (or Odradeśa) is called 'sūryasya kṣetram' (28. 10), 'raveḥ kṣetram' (28. 17), 'savituh kṣetram' (28. 62) and 'bhāskarasya kṣetram' (29. 1), Mitravana, situated on the bank of the Candra-sarit, has been identified with this holy place of the Sun, and the Sun's devotees, attending this place, are directed to worship the rising Sun there with the three-syllabled mantra. 167

By its mention that in the morning the Sun remained at Gangasāgara-sangama as Mundīrasvāmin, the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 139. 11) appears to disprove the above identification of Mundira with the Sun's penance-forest (called Mitravana) in Orissa, because the word 'gangasāgara-sangama' is generally used to mean the place where the Bhagirathi falls into the sea. But the Bhavisya-p., which mentions Gangā-dvāra, Gangā-sāgara (i.e. the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī), Kālapriya, Mitravana and Sundīrasvāmin (which must be a mistake for Mundīrasvāmin) in its list of different holy places and rivers to be named during the bathing of the Sun's image in its annual worship, 168 shows clearly that Mundirasvamin and Ganga-sagara (the mouth of the Bhagirathi) do not refer to the same place. So, the word 'gangasāgara-sangama', as occurring in Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11, must be taken to mean the place where the river Candrabhaga (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa) falls into the sea, because in the Purāṇas all rivers which flow into the sea are called 'Ganga'.169 Or, it may mean the mouth of the Sūrya-gangā, which is mentioned in the Kapilasamhitā as one of the holy places and rivers in Arkakṣetra. In the

ASB Ms (No. 311), chap. 6. 166

¹⁶⁵ Sāmba-p. 42. 2.

udyantam bhāskaram dṛṣṭvā sāndra-sindūra-samnibham/ 167 tryaksarena tu mantrena sūryāyārghyam nivedayet// Brahma-p. 28. 32-33.

¹⁶⁸ Bhav. I. 55. 24-30.

¹⁶⁹ sarvāh puņyāh sarasvatyah sarvā gangāh samudragāh.—Mārkaņdeya-p. 57. 30b; Nāyu-p. 45. 108a (v.l. sarasvatyāḥ); and so on,

Padma-p. (Pātāla-khaṇḍa) there is mention of a Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama near Puruṣottama-kṣetra (modern Puri). 170

As regards Udayācala, we are not absolutely sure whether it is the same as the Udayagiri in Orissa; because, in his Kathā-sarit-sāgara Somadeva mentions an Udayādri, the abode of Siddhas (siddha-kṣetra), as situated much farther east from Paundravardhana (most probably beyond Kāmarūpa),¹⁷¹ and in their description of Kūrma-saṃsthāna, the Mārkaṇdeya-p. (chap. 58) and the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (chap. 14) mention Prāgiyotiṣa, Lauhitya, Udayagiri, Pauṇḍra etc. as situated in the east. But the Kālikā-p., which names the holy places, mountains, rivers, lakes and pools in and about Kāmarūpa, including the Ravikṣetra (Sun's place)¹⁷² lying between the river Sumadanā on the west and the Brahma-kṣetra on the east and containing a temple of the Sun, is silent about any Udayācala in or near Kāmarūpa, although it mentions a mountain called Saṃdhyācala of that locality. So, the Udayācala of the Varāha-p. is most probably to be taken to be the same as the Udayagiri in Orissa.

The great popularity of the story of Sāmba as the antiquated founder of the Sun-temple and the Sun's image at Mitravana (in the Punjab) tempted the people of different parts of India to connect their own Sun-temples and Sun-images with Sāmba as the founder. Thus, Skanda-p. VII. i. 100 says that Sāmba established an image of the Sun, named Sāmbāditya, in Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that the place at which this image was established was called Sāmbapura; according to Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 22 the Sun was called Sāmba at Vardhamāna

¹⁷⁰ See Padma-p., Pālāta-khaṇḍa, chaps. 19 and 21-22. [In chaps. 17-22 there is the story of a king named Ratnagrīva of Kāñcī, who, in course of his pilgrimage, went to Puruṣottama-kṣetra and visited Puruṣottama after bathing at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama.] See also Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā, XLIII, 1343 B.S., pp. 80-81 (for information regarding the presence of a Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama near Puri).

¹⁷¹ Kathāsaritsāgara, pp. 67-69. The Vidūṣaka, who went to the Udayādri successively through Tāmralipta, Karkoṭaka and Paundravardhana in search of the Vidyādharī princess named Bhadrā, is said to have travelled over 60 yojanas of difficult (durgama) country, crossed the Sītodā, a river that cannot be crossed by mortals, and reached the border of the mountain of the rising Sun.

¹⁷² Kālikā-p. 81. 39-53.

(vardhamāne ca sāmbākhyaṃ); in the Brahma-p. the Sun's image, called Koṇāditya, at Koṇārka is said to have been established by Sāmba; and so on. It is for this reason that in Skanda-p. VII. i. 100 the third important place, except Mitravana and Muṇdīra, of Sunworship in Jambu-dvīpa is called Sāmbapura, the place of Sāmbāditya, in Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and not Kālapriya.

The names of Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya, and Mitravana (in the Punjab) as prominent places of Sun-worship were known to the original author of the Sāmba-p. as well as to the interpolator of chaps. 42-43, 173 but the latter was so anxious for adding to the importance of Mitravana in Orissa that he eliminated the lines

sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe 'smin bhāskarasya tu/ pūrvaṃ mitravanaṃ nāma tathā muṇḍīram ucyate/ kālapriyaṃ tṛtīyaṃ tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam//

from chap. 3 and distorted those original verses of the Samba-p. which contained, or referred to, the names of these prominent places of Sun-worship, in order that Mitravana in Orissa might be regarded as the only sacred place of the Sun.

From what has been said above it is clear that the Magian Sunworship spread at least as far as Orissa even before the time of composition of the present Samba-p.

173 Cf. Samba-p. 26. 14-

sāmnidhyam mama pūrvāhņe udite draksyate janah/ kālātyaye ca madhyāhne sāyāhne cātra nityaśah//

which is the distorted form of the original verse 'sāmnidhyam mama pūrvāhņe sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ etc.' retained in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a.

Cf. also Sāmba-p. 43. 36b-37a—
sthāpayitvā ravim bhaktyā triḥsthāneṣu surottamāḥ/
nivṛttim yānti sukṛto devakāryārtha-tatparāḥ//

Sāmba-p. 43. 50b yāṃ yāṃ kriyāṃ samārabhet sūryakṣetreṣu mānavaḥ/ etc. etc. etc.

(Note the plural number in 'sūryakṣetreṣu').

And Sāmba-p. 42. 53b-56a—

pratyūse caiva muṇḍīraṃ ye paśyanti narāḥ sakṛt/
na kadācid bhayaṃ śoko rogas teṣāṃ prapadyate//
kālahṛtkālaprītyā ca madhyāhne ye tv avekṣakāḥ/
teṣām eva sukhodarko hy acireṇaiva jāyate//
sāmba-kṛte pure bhānuḥ sāyāhne yair udīkṣitaḥ/
ṣadyaḥ saṃpadyate teṣāṃ dharmakāmārtha-sādhanam//

CHAPTER III

THE MAJOR VAISNAVA UPAPURĀNAS

In this chapter we shall analyse three Upapurāṇas, viz., Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara and Narasiṃha-purāṇa. All these works come from early dates and enjoy very wide reputation as respectable authorities on Dharma. The other Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, now extant, are of comparatively late origin and limited or localised authority. Those of these works, which have been available to us, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The term 'Vaiṣṇava', as used here, is comprehensive and includes both the Pāncarātra and the Bhāgavata works. A study of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, the Upaniṣads, the Pāncarātra Saṃhitās, and the Mahābhārata indicates that the Pāncarātra system originated at a very early period, preached the worship of the post-Vedic deity Nārāyaṇa,¹ and had non-Vedic, and probably also anti-Vedic, ideas ahd practices. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata,² which is the earliest document of the Pāncarātras, it is said that the seven Citra-sikhaṇḍin Rṣis, namely, Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha, procaimed jointly, on the mount Meru, an excellent 'Sāstra' which was on a par (samita) with the four Vedas and contained one lac of verses,³ and that, being meant for the populace and their guidance both in activity (pravṛtti) and inactivity (nivṛtti), this 'Sāstra'

1 According to R. G. Bhandarkar, Nārāyaṇa is 'the cosmic and philosophic god'.—Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 35. See also S. K. De in Our Heritage, Vol. I (1953), pp. 13-23.

The facts that in the Mahābhārata the Pāńcarātra system is differentiated from the Vedic (Mbh XII. 349. 1 and 64), that the Sāstra, written by the seven Citra-śikhandin Rṣis on the mount Meru, is said to have been made consistent with the four Vedas (Mbh XII. 335. 40), and that this Sāstra was meant for the populace (Mbh XII. 335. 39 and 29), tend to indicate the popular origin of Nārāyaṇa, Also Mrinal Dasgupta, Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship, IHQ, VII, pp. 346-79.

- 2 Mbh XII. 335-351.
- 3 See Mbh XII. 335. 27-30 and 39.

was made consistent with the four Vedas.4 Although at present we have got no decisive evidence at our disposal to prove the actual compilation of any ancient Sastra jointly by the seven sages mentioned above, the very statement that the scripture was meant for the common run of people and made to conform to the four Vedas, is important and implies the originally non-Vedic, and probably also anti-Vedic, ideas and practices of the early Pancaratras. The Mahabharata itself differentiates the Pancaratra system from the Vedic, saying: "Know, O saintly king, the Sāmkhya, the Yoga, the Pāncarātra, the Vedas and the Pāsupata as knowledges holding different views."5 It has been held by some scholars that the above-mentioned 'Sastra' compiled by the seven sages was the forerunner of the Pancaratra Samhitas.6 But this view is hardly tenable. The prescriptions of the early Samhitas of the Pancaratras are not at all favourable to the Varnasramadharma and the Vedas; on the other hand, the influence of the Varṇāśrama-dharma on the Pāńcarātra Saṃhitās increases gradually with their comparatively late dates. So, it is more reasonable to hold that the original non-Vedic as well as anti-Vedic ideas of the Pancaratras were permeated through the Samhitas, while the seven sages' spirit of reconciling their views with the Vedas found its later expression in the epics, Purāņas and similar other pro-Vedic sectarian works.

In spite of its originally indifferent, and probably also irreverent, attitude towards the Vedas and the Varnāśrama-dharma, the Pāńcarātra system came to be connected even in the later Brāhmaṇic period with the sacrificial religion of the Vedas; and in later times it identified

4 Ibid., XII. 335. 29-40—

kṛtaṃ śata-sahasraṃ hi ślokānām idam uttamam/
loka-tantrasya kṛtsnasya yasmād dharmaḥ pravartate//
pravṛttau ca nivṛttau ca yasmād etad bhaviṣyati/
yajur-ṛk-sāmabhir juṣṭam atharvāṅgirasais tathā//

Also Mbh XII. 335. 29a—loka-dharmam anuttamam.

5 Ibid., XII. 349. 64—
sāṃkhyaṃ yogaḥ pāńcarātraṃ vedāḥ pāśupataṃ tathā/
jñānāny etāni rājarṣe viddhi nānā-matāni vai//

See also Mbh XII. 349. 1.

6 Farquhar, Outline, p. 98.

7 Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc., pp. 31ff.

Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu and was affiliated to the more popular worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva through the doctrine of Vyūha.8 This modified state of the Pāńcarātra system is found in the extant Pāńcarātra Saṃhitās, on the one hand, and in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, on the other. In the last two classes of works, which betray the hands of Smārta adherents of the types of Anāptas, Ārambhins and Saṃpravartins mentioned in the Jayākhya-saṃhitā,8 an attempt has been made to make the system conform to the Varṇāśrama-dharma as well as to the principles of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta.

Among the Smārta Pāńcarātras there must have been different groups believing in, and adoring, the different manifestations of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). It was probably the members of these groups who, being inspired by a sense of high regard for the Vedas and the Varṇāśrama-dharma, compiled Purāṇic works bearing the names of the different manifestations such as Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, etc.

In comparatively late periods, a large section of people threw Nārāyaṇa into the background, looked upon Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as the object of their devotion, and began to add great importance to his character as a cowherd. They made him the Supreme Being by identifying him with Viṣṇu, often ignored the doctrine of Vyūha, and laid great stress on love and emotional bhakti as means of realising this Supreme Being. These people and their followers took Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva to be the Bhagavat and came to be known as Bhāgavatas. In order to propagate their own faith, the Smārta Bhāgavatas wrote several Purāṇic works, in all of which juvenile Kṛṣṇa of Vṛṇdāvana figures prominently.

It should be mentioned here that as both the Pancaratras and the Bhagavatas believed deeply in the doctrine of ahimsa (non-killing),

⁸ For clear exposition of this doctrine see F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāńcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, pp. 27ff. For the older dogma see Barnett, Introduction to his English translation of the Bhagavad-gītā, pp. 52-55; Mrinal Dasgupta in IHQ, VIII, pp. 68-73.

⁹ XXII. 34b-37a. See also Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 203-4 (for the relevant verses of the Jayākhya-saṃhitā as well as for explanation of the terms 'Smārta Pāncarātra,' 'Smārta Saiva,' etc.).

their ideas became the subject-matter of many of the Purāṇic works, which were meant for saving the Vedic religion especially from the onslaught of Buddhism, Jainism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious systems. The identification of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu connected the systems of the Pāñcarātras and the Bhāgavatas closely with the Vedic ideas and made them favourable for the establishment of the Varṇāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas. It was most probably for this reason that in later times even Tantric Śāktism had to be infused with Vaiṣṇava ideas.

The tradition of compilation of a 'Sastra' by reconciling the sectarian views with the Vedic ones, which is said to have been set up by the seven Citra-sikhandin Rsis on the mount Meru, does not appear to have died out or failed in inspiring people of later ages to compose similar works for the popularisation of the Vedic views of life and conduct. With the rise and spread of Buddhism, Jainism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious faiths, the protagonists of the Vedic way of life must have been actively busy in devising ways and means for creating a favourable field for the Vedas in popular mind. As a matter of fact, during the few centuries preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era the Smarta adherents to leading sectarian faiths such as Vaisnava, Saiva, Saura, etc. compiled a number of works entitled 'Visnudharma', 'Sivadharma', 'Sauradharma', and so on, which were neither Puranas nor Smrtis but were 'Sastras' prescribing religious and other duties to the respective sectaries in consonance with the teachings of the Vedas. The early rise of these 'Sastras' is evidenced by the Bhavisya-p., in which Sumantu is found to explain the term 'Jaya' to king Satānīka, saying:

"aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā /
viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata //
kārṣṇaṃ ca pañcamo vedo yan mahābhārataṃ smṛtam /
saurāś ca dharmā rājendra mānavoktā mahīpate //
jayeti nāma caiteṣāṃ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ //"10

These verses, which have been quoted in Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 25, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 19-20, Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 30. Nityācāra-pradipa, I, p. 22 (omitting the fifth line), Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 71, Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāsa, p. 17, and so on, are much the same as Bhav. I. 4. 87b-89.

"The eighteen Purāṇas as well as the biography of Rāma; the Viṣṇudharma and other Śāstras, and the Śivadharmas, O descendant of Bharata; the fifth Veda which is known as the Mahābhārata compiled by Kṛṣṇa (Dvaipāyana); and the Saura Dharmas declared by Mānava, O paramount ruler, the lord of the earth;—the name 'Jaya' 11 for (all) these the learned declare."

In another place of the same Purāṇa king Satānīka is found to put the following question to Sumantu:

"bhagavan kena vidhinā śrotavyam bhāratam naraiḥ /; caritam rāmabhadrasya purānāni viśeṣataḥ /,/, katham tu vaiṣṇavā dharmāḥ śivadharmā aśeṣataḥ /, saurāṇām cāpi viprendra ucyatām śravane vidhiḥ //,"12

"In what way, O venerable one, are the Bhārata, the biography of Rāmabhadra, and especially the Purāṇas, to be heard by men, and how, again, the Vaiṣṇava Dharmas and the Sivadharmas in their entirety? (Kindly) tell (me), O chief of Brahmins, the procedure of hearing (the Dharmas) of the Sauras also."

It is hardly necessary to say that in these verses of the Bhavisya-p. definite works on the religious duties (Dharma) on Visnu, Siva, Sūrya and other deities have been meant, and that these works were entitled 'Viṣṇudharma', Sivadharma', 'Sauradharma' and so on.

In the extant Viṣṇudharma (chap. 1) Saunaka gives a tradition, according to which the topics of this work were spoken out by Brahmā to Bhṛgu, Marīci and other sages, by Bhṛgu to Uśanas, by Uśanas to Saunaka's grandfather, by the latter to Saunaka's father, and by Saunaka's father to Saunaka. The present Sivadharmottara, which claims to be the latter part of the Sivadharma, says in its concluding

The Bhavişya-p. reads 'viṣṇudharmādayo dharmāḥ' (for 'viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi' in the first half of the second line) and 'nāradoktāḥ' (for 'mānavoktāḥ' in the second half of the fourth line) and gives the alternative reading 'śrautāḥ' (for 'saurāḥ' in the first half of the fourth line). It is needless to say that the reading 'śrautāḥ' (for 'saurāḥ') is wrong. Cf. Bhav. I. 216. 37 quoted hereinafter.

- II It means '(the cause of) victory or prosperity.'
- 12 Bhav. I. 216. 36-37.
- 13 This Saiva 'Sastra', which still exists in Mss, will be examined in another Volume of the present work.

chapter that originally this work was spoken out by Kumāra to the sage Agasti in 12000 verses and that the latter spoke out its essence briefly in twelve chapters. The Sivadharma salso states that it was originally spoken out by Siva to Pārvatī, Ṣaṇmukha, Nandikeśvara and others. So, there is little scope for doubt that Sāstras bearing the titles 'Viṣṇudharma', 'Sivadharma', 'Sauradharma', etc. had been compiled even before the rise of the extant texts of the same titles.

A new situation arose in the country with the unprecedented spread and popularity of Buddhism during the reign of Aśoka Maurya. In the few centuries following the death of this great emperor Buddhism grew up to be the most powerful rival of Hinduism and gave incentives to the compilation of the present Viṣṇudharma, in which the atheists, especially the Buddhists, have been denounced on many occasions. This work was followed at intervals by the compilation of the present Viṣṇudharmottara, Sivadharma and Sivadharmottara. The Sauradharma (which, as the quotations from it in the Smṛṭi Nibandhas show, was spoken out by Vasiṣṭha and might consequently be different from that declared by Mānava or Nārada) and the Sauradharmottara (drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers) also must have belonged to this period; but they appear to have been lost, no Ms of any of them having been found as yet.

We have already seen that in a verse of the Bhavisya-p. the Visnudharma has been called a 'Sāstra'. The extant Visnudharma also gives itself out to be a 'Sāstra' in two places and not a 'Purāṇa',

14 The relevant verses are the following:

uktaṃ dvādaśa-sāhasrī (?-sraṃ) śivadharmottaraṃ mahat/

agastaye munindrāya kumāreṇa mahātmanā//

itiha karma-yogasya jñāna-yogasya tattvataḥ/

dharmādharma-gatināṃ ca svarūpam upavarṇitam//

ity etad akhilaṃ buddhvā saṃkṣipyāgastir abravīt/

dvādaśādhyāya-saṃyuktam iti sāraṃ vimuktidam//

śivadharmottaraṃ śāstraṃ/

Sivadharmottara, chap. 12 (ASB Ms No. 3852, fol. 88a).

15 This work also has not yet been printed. It will be examined later.

16 See Sivadharma (ASB Ms No. 3852), chap. 1.

'Upapurana' or 'Smrti' even once.17 Consequently, scholars have been divided in their opinion regarding the true character of this work. For instance, on the strength of the said verse of the Bhavisya-p. Laksmīdhara takes the Visņudharma to be a 'Sāstra' and includes it among the Smrti works;18 and his opinion is followed in very much the same words by Candeśvara, Narasimha Vājapeyin, Mitra Miśra and others. 19 Vallālasena calls the Visnudharma a 'Sāstra' (śāstram ca viṣṇudharmākhyam), which is taken as different from the epics, Purānas and Smṛti Samhitās.20 Hemādri also seems to be of the same opinion as Vallālasena, his authorities being the said verse of the Bhavisya-p. and another ascribed to the Saura-p.21 On the other hand, most of the lists of eighteen Upapuranas include the name of the 'Sivadharma', thus giving wide recognition to this work as an Upapurāna in spite of the fact that it frequently calls itself a 'Sāstra' and once a 'Sivātmaka Dharmaśāstra'.22 As regards the Viṣṇudharma, it may be said that the Brhaddharma-p.23 names it in its list of eighteen Upapuranas and that, as we shall see presently, the Visnudharmottara was taken by many to be a Purana or Upapurana. In all the catalogues of Sanskrit Mss both the Visnudharma and the Visnudharmottara have been classed with the Puranas. Consequently, we have thought it desirable to look upon the Visnudharma as an Upapurānic work and not as a mere 'Śāstra'.

- 17 See Viṣṇudharma, chap. 105, fol. 260a (nāsty anyad viṣṇudharmāṇāṃ sadṛśaṃ śāstram uttamam) and fol. 260b (iti śāstra-māhātmyaṃ).
 - 18 Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 25.
- 19 Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 30, Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22; Vīramitrodaya. Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 16; and so on.
 - 20 Dānasāgara, pp. 2-3, verses 11-19.
- 21 See Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 19-20 (viṣṇudharmāṇi śāstrāṇi etc.) and pp. 539-40 (śivadharmādi-śāstrāṇi yaḥ prayacchati puṇya-dhiḥ/ so 'nanta-phalam āpnoti śivadharma-prakāśanāt//).
- 22 In most of the chapter-colophons of the present Sivadharma the name 'Sivadharma-śāstra' occurs. For the name 'Sivātmaka Dharmaśāstra' see the line 'uktam ca dvādaśādhyāyam dharma-śāstram śivātmakam' occurring in chap. 12 (fol. 39a).
- We shall see afterwards that this work was written in Bengal most probably in the last half of the thirteenth century A.D.

As to the character of the Viṣṇudharmottara a similar confusion arose among scholars on account of the facts that this work, as its title shows, professes to be the latter part of the Viṣṇudharma and that its claim has been clearly put forth in two of its verses, and which the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara have been taken to form one complete work known by the general title 'Viṣṇudharma'. It is most probably due to this alleged unity of these two works that Alberūnī considered both of them to be one and made his citations from the Viṣṇudharmottara under the name of 'Viṣṇudharma', that Smṛṭi-writers are often found to ascribe verses of the Viṣṇudharmottara to the Viṣṇudharma and vice versa, and that in some Mss the Viṣṇudharma has been called 'Viṣṇudharmottara.' In his Nityācāra-pradīpa Narasiṃha Vājapeyin regards the Viṣṇudharmottara as a 'ṣāstra' and as a part of the Viṣṇudharma, and supports his view by citations from the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Viṣṇudharmottara.'

24 Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 35—
saṃsāra-kṣaya-hetvarthe bhāvopakaraṇeṣu ca/
sottarā vaiṣṇavā dharmāḥ sāram etat prakīrtitam//
Viṣṇudh. I. 143. 16—
adhīte sottaraṃ yaś ca viṣṇudharmam idaṃ śubham/

25 For instance, the verse 'ahorātram na bhoktavyam' is ascribed to the Viṣṇudharma in Madana-pārijāta, p. 538 and to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. i. p. 437; the line 'dattvā kārpāsikam', which is the same as Viṣṇudh. III. 313. 4a, has been ascribed to the Viṣṇudharma in Dāna-kaumudī, p. 46; the verse 'upoṣitavyam nakṣatram,' which is the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 60. 26b-27, has been ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālaviveka, p. 508, Vratakāla-viveka, p. 14, Tithi-viveka, p. 47, and Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 302, but to the Viṣṇudharma in Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 8; and so on. On the other hand, verses really belonging to the Viṣṇudharma have been wrongly ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirṇapa, pp. 200-201, 202, 210 etc., Kālasāra, p. 151, and so on.

It can hardly be denied that such wrong ascription of verses is partly due to

scribal mistakes.

As a matter of fact, R L. Mitra and J. Eggeling confuse the Visnudharma with the Visnudharmottara, taking these two works to be one.

27 Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22— 'bhaviṣya-purāṇe aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā/ viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata// Narasimha Vājapeyin is clearly not in favour of recognising the Visnudharmottara as a Purāṇic work. Mitra Miśra also does not include this work among the Puranas, although he takes it to be 'as authoritative as a Purana'28. According to Alberuni the Visnudharmottara (named by him as 'Visnudharma') is a 'book' (and not a 'Purana') on 'the religion of God who in this case is understood to be Nārāyaṇa'20 The present Kālikā-p. (92.2) calls the Viṣṇudharmottara a 'tantra'. Except in only one most-probably-spurious verse, 30 nowhere does the Visnudharmottara claim, in the body of its text, to be known as a 'Purana' or 'Upapurana'. On the other hand, Vallalasena calls the Visnudharma a 'Sastra' but seems to look upon the Visnudharmottara as an Upapurāṇa; 11 the Brhadharma-p. (I. 25. 25) regards the Visnudharmottara as distinct from the Visnudharma and includes both of these works in its list of Upapurānas; the Caturvarga-cintamani once names the Visnudharmottara as 'Visnudharmottara-purāna';32 in the final colophons of some of the Mss of

tatra viṣṇudharmottaram viṣṇudharmasya] bheda iti na pṛthan nirdiṣṭam/viṣnudharmottare—

ete ye vaiṣṇavā dharmā dālabhyena prakīrtitāḥ/ uttaraṃ kathitaṃ tubhyaṃ mayaitat paripṛcchate//

The former verse is the same as Bhav. I. 4. 87b-88a, but the latter verse (etc ye vaisnavāḥ etc.), which is ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara, is not found in the printed edition.

28 In connection with Smṛti works Mitra Miśra says in his Viramitrodaya,

Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 16-

'evam vṛddha-manvādīnām manvādyabhedaḥ śiṣṭa-prasiddhyādibhir avaganta-vyaḥ/yāni tu gṛhya-tatpariśiṣṭādīni tāni bhinna-koṭīny eva purāṇavat pramāṇāni/tathā viṣṇudharmottara-mahābhārata-rāmāyaṇādīny api/

29 Sachau, Alberūni's India, I, p. 132.

30 Viṣṇudh, III. 355. 5—
rājā'pi vajro dharmātmā mārkaṇḍeyena bhāṣitam/
purāṇaṃ cintayan nityaṃ nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇaḥ/
rājyaṃ ca prāśisan nityaṃ prajā dharmeṇa pālayan//

This is the final verse of Visnudh. III. It does not occur in any other Ms of the Visnudharmottara known to us.

- 31 Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 12b-15a).
- 32 Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, III. ii. p. 462.

the Viṣṇudharmottara the name 'Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa' occurs;33 the Nāradīya-p. (I. 94. 17b-20) says that the Viṣṇu-p. consists of two parts-the Visnu-p. proper (forming the first part-ādi-bhāga) and the Visnudharmottara; in the final colophons of its Khandas the printed Viṣṇudharmottara calls itself the second part (dvitīya-bhāga) of the Viṣṇu-mahāpurāṇa;34 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, pp. 245 and 419 Anantabhatta quotes Visnudh. II. 52. 47-52a and II. 52. 110ff. respectively with the words 'tatra padma-purane visnudharmottarakhande paraśurāmam prati (p. 419—āha) puṣkaraḥ', in which the Visnudharmottara has been taken to be a part of the Padma-p.; in the final colophons of some of its Mss the Visnudharmottara has been connected with the Garuda-p.;35 and so on. From all these it appears that originally the Visnudharmottara was not regarded as a Purana. But in course of time its Puranic form and character encouraged people to include it among the Puranic works, and the result was that some took it to be an Upapurana, while others attached it, as a part, to one or other of the Mahāpurāṇas.

The above discussion explains our attitude towards the Visnudharma and the Visnudharmottara. We shall now analyse the individual Upapurāṇas.

I. THE VISNUDHARMA

This is an extensive and widely popular work³⁶ awaiting publication. It consists of more than 4000 verses distributed in 105

33 See Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 308 and 326; and List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 22. See also Mitra, Notices, II, p. 16 (No. 550) for a Ms of the Dharmaghata-vrata-kathā which, in its colophon, claims to belong to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.'

34 These colophons run as follows:—iti śrī-viṣṇu-mahāpurāṇe dvitīya-bhāge

śri-visnudharmottare

35 Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, p. 912. Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 150. M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV, i, pp. 1437-39, No. 2111. Burnell, Clasified Index, p. 188 (Viṣṇudharmottara—said to be the Uttara-bhāga of the Garuḍa-p.).

36 For its Mss see

(1) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 764-5

[No. 4099 (Ms No. 1670).-

This is a complete Ms written in Nāgara scripts. It begins with two verses

chapters in the ASB Ms (No. 1670), which we have chiefly used here. It has very little of the principal characteristics of a Purāṇa, and although it deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of the Vaiṣṇavas and consequently calls itself a 'Sāstra' on two occasions and not a 'Purāṇa' or 'Upapurāṇa' even once, it came to be recognised by many as a 'Purāṇic work, obviously because the later Purāṇas turned into religious books, caring much more for religious matters than for accounts of ancient history.

Beginning, in most of its Mss, with a verse extolling the sanctity of the Bhārata (i. e. Mahābhārata) and, on rare occasions, with a

'nārāyaṇaṃ namaskṛtya naraṃ caiva narottamam, etc.' and 'dvaipāyanoṣṭha-puṭa-ni(ḥ)sṛtam aprameyam, etc.' (in which the 'Bhārata' has been praised), and its extent has been given by Shastri as 4600 Ślokas.

No. 4100 (Ms No. 3506).—This Ms also is complete, but it is written in Bengali characters. Of its two introductory verses the second runs as follows:

namo vyāsāya gurave vedajñāya maharṣaye/ pārāśaryāya śāntāya namo nārāyaṇāya te//]

(2) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1308-9, No. 3604.

[This Nagara Ms has practically the same text as that of the ASB Ms No. 1670, its first two introductory verses being the same as those of the latter.]

(3) Weber, Berlin Cat., 338-41.

[This is a Nāgara Ms consisting of 102 chapters and having practically the same text as that of the ASB Ms No. 1670 (single chapters of the former being at times split up into two in the latter). It begins with the same two verses as those of the latter and ends with the words 'iti śrīviṣṇudharmottare śūcikā samāptā.']

(4) Shastri, Nepal Cat., pp. 29-30 (No. 1002%) and p. 30 (1002%).

[Of these two Mss, which are written in Newari scripts, the first is dated Saṃvat 167 (=1047 A.D.) and was copied during the reign of Parama-bhaṭṭā-raka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrīmad-bhāskara-deva.]

(5) Pandit Devī Prasāda, List of Sanskrit Mss Discovered in Oudh during the Year 1877 (Allahabad, 1878), pp. 32-33.

[This is a Nāgara Ms consisting of '3000 Ślokas' according to Pandit Devī Prasāda.]

(6) Mitra, Notices, VII, pp. 65-67, No. 2293.

[This is a Nagara Ms beginning with the same verses as those of the ASB Ms No. 1670 and consisting of 3819 Slokas according to Mitra. It is dated Samvat 1910 and called 'Visnudharmottara' like the Berlin Ms.]

salutation, in a single verse, to Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, this work describes the occasion of the narration of its subject-matter as follows.

Once Saunaka and other sages came to see king Satānīka, son of (Janamejaya) Pārīkṣita, after the latter's coronation had been over. Satānīka received these sages with due honour and requested them to favour him with the best discourses on Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa), through whose grace his ancestors could recover their lost kingdom and the life of his grandfather Parīkṣit was saved from the deadly weapon hurled by Drona's son (Aśvatthāman). He described Nārāyana as eternal and boundless and as one who gave birth to Rudra from his rage and to Pitamaha from his grace. He then expressed his desire for hearing the ways, secret Mantras, service, gifts, vows, fasts or Homas, by which Hari might be worshipped for getting over the miseries of life. Being highly pleased with Satānīka's devotion for the god the sages praised Saunaka as a rich store-house of all knowledge and as a lamp for dispelling all darkness of doubt in the three worlds and reqested him to speak to Satānīka about Kṛṣṇa-Nārāyaṇa. Consequently, after briefly explaining the process of origin of the universe from the Supreme Being, who appeared, for the sake of creation, as Pradhāna and Puruṣa by līlā and also became Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by fancy (chandatah), Saunaka referred to the tradition of inheritance of all these topics from Brahmā³⁷ and narrated the following story:

Once Bramā spoke to Marīci and others about the highest type of Yoga which is capable of leading one to Kaivalya by effecting the complete cessation of the functions of the mind (samasta-vṛtti-saṃro-dhāt kaivalya-pratipādakam). But as success in this kind of Yoga requires strenuous efforts extending over many births and as it is often found that one fails to control the organs of senses and to get over their objects (viṣaya) even in a hundred lives, Marīci and others requested the god to speak to them on some easier method of Yoga which could be practised with success even by a common man in a

³⁷ We have already noted that in chap. 1 of the Viṣṇudharma (fols. 3b-4a) these topics have been said to have come down from Brahmā to Saunaka successively through Bhṛgu, Uśanas, Saunaka's grandfather, and Saunaka's father.

short period of time. Consequently, Brahmā spoke on Kriyā-yoga which consists in the constant propitiation of Nārāyaṇa (i. e. Kṛṣṇa) by sacrifice, worship, salutation, service, observance of vows and fasts, gratification of Brahmins, and other acts. Saunaka said that on the basis of Brahmā's instructions Marīci and other sages compiled treatises (śāstra) on Kriyā-yoga for the good of the people.—(Chap. 1).

Next, going to speak on this Kriyā-yoga, which liberates people from bondage, Saunaka narrated the story of king Ambarīṣa thus:

Being desirous of bringing the duals (dvandva) to an end through Visnu's favour, king Ambarīsa practised austerities with great devotion. Visnu was pleased, but he would not favour the king without putting him to test. He appeared before the latter in the form of Indra, gave himself out to be the god of gods ruling over the Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, Nāsatyas, Maruts, Prajāpatis, Sādhyas, Viśvedevas and others, and asked the king to choose a boon. But the latter made it clear to him that he was not eager for having anything from Indra but was trying to please Visnu who ensured prosperity to Indra by killing Hiranyākṣa, Hiranyakaśipu and other demons, by recovering his kingdom from Bali, and by various other acts, and who was the creator, protector and destructor of the universe and the source of origin of the gods forming the triad. At these words of the king Viṣṇu, in the form of Indra, pretended to be enraged and threatened the king with his thunder-weapon. But the latter pleaded innocent and remained unmoved. His unswerving devotion pleased Visnu so much that the god revealed himself in his real form, in which he has four hands and wears yellow clothes, and spoke briefly to the king on the best system of Yoga which is 'nirbija' and ends all miseries of life for ever (nirbijam atyanta-duḥkha-saṃyoga-bheṣajam). But as this type of Yoga was too difficult for the king, he requested Visnu to tell him about such Yoga as could be practised by people like himself. Consequently, Viṣṇu spoke of Kriyā-yoga which puts a stop to all sufferings of life (kleśa) and advised the king to be devoted to him heart and soul, to worship him constantly with flowers and other things as well as with the offer of highly valuable articles of gold, silver, etc., to think of him incessantly, and to see him everywhere and in all beings. Next, being requested by the king to speak elaborately on this Kriyāyoga, Viṣṇu (called 'Keśava') referred him to his priest (purohita) Vasiṣṭha, who, he said, would tell him about it through his favour. Viṣṇu then disappeared; and the king returned to his capital. (— Chap. 2). There he met Vasiṣṭha, intimated to him what Viṣṇu had said, and requested him to speak on Kriyā-yoga concerning Viṣṇu-worship. Vasiṣṭha narrated the story of Prahlāda thus:

Once Prahlāda, a devotee of Nārāyaṇa, told his high-priest Sukra, the chief of the Bhrgus, that he found in the body of Nrsimha all the three worlds as well as the gods, goddesses and Pitrs, and requested him to describe the method of worshipping this deity. Sukra said that if he really desired to worship 'Visnu, the lord of gods', he was to become a Bhāgavata, because no mortal other than a Bhāgavata is able to know Visnu rightly, or to eulogise him, or to see him, not to speak of merging in him. 38 Sukra then spoke on the characteristics and praise of Bhagavatas (who respect the Brahmins and the Veda, practise ahimsā, have their minds absorbed in Visnu in many of their births, and are far superior to the performers of Tapas or austerity and of costly sacrifices), worship of Visnu in images with the offer of flowers, lamps etc., construction of temples for him, and siging of songs, recitation of hymns, and sounding of musical instruments during his worship. (-Chap. 3). Next, after defining 'upavasa' (fasting)39 and pointing out its benefits, Sukra reproduced what Pulastya had said to Dalbhya in ancient times on the following topics:

Devotional service to Visnu⁴⁰ (-chap. 4); procedures and praise

na hy abhāgavatair viṣṇur jñātuṃ stotuṃ ca tattvataḥ/ draṣṭuṃ vā śakyate martyaiḥ praveṣṭuṃ kuta eva hi //

upavāsah sa vijneyah sarva-bhoga-vivarjitah//-Fol. 14a.

It should be mentioned that the Visnudharma adds great importance to

fasting in Visnu-worship and prescribes it especially to females.

40 Viz., worship of the deity with fragrant flowers and other things, especially with fast; sweeping, washing, and besmearing of Visnu-temples with earth, cow-dung, substances of metallic preparation (? dhātu-vikāra), and so on; offer of flowers, lamps, pots of sesamum, flags, and other things; narration of sanctifying stories; praise of Visnu as the highest god worshipped by Indra, women, Vaikhānasas, Parivrājakas, and others.

of a number of Vaiṣṇava vows and worships,⁴¹ some of which were described by way of reporting the dialogues of others;⁴² Kṛṣṇa's speech to Arjuna on his own identity with Kāla and unity with Arjuna, and also on the names of the principal holy places⁴³ in which Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped under particular names (—Chaps. 35-36); description of

41 Viz., Sugati-dvādaśi-vrata (in which 'Kṛṣṇa' is to be worshipped and meditated upon, and his name to be repeated)—chap. 4; Eka-bhakta-vrata, Dvādaśa-māsika-kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-vrata (in which 'Kṛṣṇa' is to be worshipped), Kulā-vāpti-dvādaśī-vrata (alias Śukla-dvādaśī-vrata, said to have been described to Bharata by his mātāmaha Kaṇva), Vijaya-dvādaśī-vrata, Jayanty-aṣṭamī-vrata, Atijayaikādaśī-vrata, and Viṣṇu-snapana-vrata (—chaps. 6-12 respectively); Puṣya-ṛkṣaikādaśī-vrata, Pada-dvaya-vrata, Manoratha-dvādaśī-vrata, and Aśoka-pūrṇamāsī-vrata (—chaps. 17-20 respectively); Naraka-dvādaśī-vrata—chap. 24; Tila-dvādaśī-vrata—chap. 34; Sukṛta-dvādaśī-vrata—chap. 37; Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā-vrata—chap. 41.

Worship of Viṣṇu and his wife under the names of Janārdana and Lakṣmi, Śrīdhara and Śrī, and Keśava and Bhūti in the four months beginning respectively with Phālguna, Āṣāḍha and Kārttika (chap. 5); Māsa-ṛkṣa-pūjā (chap. 27).

- 42 Pulastya reproduced the dialogues in which
- (i) Yājñavalkya spoke to Maitreyī on Manoratha-saṃpatti-kāraka-vrata (chap. 13), Saṃprāpti-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 14), Govinda-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 15), and Akhanda-dvādaśī-vrata (chap. 16);
- (ii) Saṃkara spoke to Devī on Sobhana-pati-prāpti-vrata (chap. 21) and Strī-dharma-vrata (chap. 22);
 - (iii) Vasistha spoke to Arundhatī on Naksatra-purusa-vrata (chap. 29);
- (iv) Maitreyī spoke to Šīladhanā (a sonless queen of Kṛtavīrya, the Haihaya king) on Ananta-vrata (chap. 30),
- 43 These are as follows: Puṣkara, Gayā, Lohadaṇḍa, Citrakūṭa, Prabhāsa, Vṛndāvana, Jayantī, Hastināpura, Kardamāla, Kasmīra (?), Kubjāmra, Mathurā, Kubjaka, Gaṅgādvāra, Śālagrāma, Govardhanācala, Piṇḍāraka, Śaṅkhoddhāra, Kurukṣetra, Yamunā, Śoṇa, Pūrva-sāgara (kapilaṃ pūrva-sāgare—fol. 68b), Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṃgama, Devikā-nadī, Prayāga, Vadarikāśrama, Dakṣiṇa Samudra, Dvārakā, Mahendrādri, Arvuda, Aśvatīrtha, Himācala, Kṛtaśauca, Vipāśā, Naimiṣa, Jambūmārga, Saindhavāraṇya, Daṇḍaka, Utpalāvartaka, Narmadā, Raivataka, Nandā, Sindhu-sāgara-saṃgama, Sahyādri, Māgadha Vana, Vindhya, Oḍra (oḍre tu puruṣottamam—fol. 69a).

The corresponding chapter in ASB Ms No. 3506 contains in fol. 61a a few more names such as Kusvāmāḍhya (?), Nepāla, Mandodapāna, Kiṣkindhyā, Kāśī, Viśākhayūpa, Virajā, etc. In this Ms Lohadaṇḍa has been named as Loladaṇḍa, Kasmīra as Kahlāra (ì?), and Māgadha Vana as Mādhava Vana.

hells in which sinners are punished for various sins, viz., adultery, killing of cows and women, denouncement of Viṣṇu and the Brahmins, and so on (chap. 23); description and denouncement of Pāṣaṇḍas, and the atonements for seeing or touching them or for speaking with them (chap. 25); enunciation of the Apāmārjana, which allays the troubles caused by malevolent rites (viz., abhicāras and kṛtyās), poison, evil Grahas, all kinds of fever and other diseases, and so on;⁴⁴ method and praise of besmearing Viṣṇu-temples with earth, cow-dung etc. and of presenting lamps there (chaps. 31-32); glorification of gods, Brahmins, Vedas and sacrifices, and denouncement of those who decry them (chap. 33); eulogy of Viṣṇu with the mention of his exploits in different incarnations (chap. 39); muttering of the different names of Viṣṇu (inculding 'Kāmapāla') for security under different circumstances (chap. 40); statement of the causes of rebirths and release (chap. 42).

After listening to the dialogue between Pulastya and Dālbhya Satānīka requested Saunaka to speak on Dharma as described by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira. Consequently, Saunaka reported the statements made by Kṛṣṇa on the following subjects: the names of the authors of the Dharma-saṃhitās; 45 hells, and gifts of shoes, mules, clothes and other articles to Brahmins for escaping these (chap. 45); glorificarion of Brahmins as well as of service and gifts made to them (chap. 46); praise of practice of various restraints, such as silence, sacrifice, celibacy, nonkilling, living on roots, fruits or leaves, fasting, lying on

44 In chap. 28 there are the names of a large number of diseases caused by any of the three humours of the body, viz., wind (vāta), bile (pitta) and phlegm (kapha), various kinds of poison, different classes of Grahas such as Preta-grahas, Dākinī-grahas, Vetāla-grahas, Gandharvas, Yakṣa-rākṣasas, Vināyakas, Bāla-grahas, and so on.

45 Viz., those of Manu, Vasistha, Parāśara, Ātreya, Gārgya, Sankha, Likhita, Yama, Jāvāli, Dvaipāyana, Umā-Mahcśvara (umā-mahcśvarāś caiva jāti-dharmāś ca pāvanāh—fol. 89a), Kāśyapa, Bahvāyana, Sakuli, Agastya, Mudgala, Sāṇḍilya, Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Uddālaka, Sumantu, Paulastya, Vaiśaṃpāyana, Piśaṃgama, Indra, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Āpastamba, Gopālaka, Sūrya, Hārīta, Yājñavalkya, the seven sages (saptarṣayaḥ), and others.

For this list see also ASB Ms No. 3506, fol. 76a-b.

The verse containing the names of Umā-Maheśvara and Kāśyapa does not occur in ASB Ms No. 3506.

the ground, entrance into fire, and so on (chap. 47); description and praise of gifts of paddy, fuel, virgin girls (for marriage in the Brahma form), gold, cows, footwears etc. to Brahmins, especially to one widely learned in the Vedas-bahuśruta (chaps. 48, 53 and 58-60); enumeration of sixteen cases (including those of such Brahmins as are priests of villages, husbands of Sūdra wives, sellers of the Veda, snake-catchers, and hen-pecked husbands) in which gifts, made, become unproductive (chap. 49); results of insulting or respecting a Brahmin (chap. 50); praise of a Brahmin who regularly repeats the Gayatrī (chap. 51); praise of tapas (austerity) and satya (truth), and denouncement of anrta (untruth) (chaps. 54 and 55); fasting and observance of the Eka-bhakta-vrata in different months (chap. 56); elevation and lowering of caste caused respectively by the due performance of one's own Dharma and by neglect of it (chap. 57); praise of fighting bravely and courting death in the battle-field; principles of war (samgrāma-praśamsā-chap. 61); praise of avoiding meat and practising ahimsā (chap. 62).

Saunaka then reported

- 1. Nārāyaṇa's speech to Yudhiṣṭhira on the science of government (daṇḍa-nīti, including the divinity and duties of a king, necessity of daṇḍa, and punishment for different kinds of crimes—chap. 63), praise of devotion to Viṣṇu (chap. 64), and incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha (chap. 66);
- 2. Bhīṣma's statement to Yudhiṣṭhira on remembering Viṣṇu and muttering his names for allaying the effects of bad dreams (chap. 67);
- 3. Viṣṇu's enumeration to Lakṣmī of the characteristics of those who become his favourites 46 (chap. 74);
- 46 Such people are those who are given to knowldge of Ātman, avoid hiṃsā, culture universal friendship, feel completely satisfied with whatever they possess, are truthful, upright and compassionate, look upon others' wives as mothers, are completely satisfied with their own wives, always remain engaged in lawful work, do not hesitate to give up their life for the sake of Brahmins, and so on. As regards females, they are to be devoted to their husbands and should culture love and service.

4. Prahlāda's description of the powers of Viṣṇu and his disc, his speech on Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga, 47 and his advice to Bali to become a Bhāgavata (chaps. 76-81);

5. Prahlāda's narration, in chaps. 83-91, of what Vasistha had

said to Mandhatr on a number of vows48 and gifts.49

Saunaka further spoke on the following topics: benefits of meditating on and rendering various kinds of devotional service to Viṣṇu (chap. 71); practice of one's own duties as well as of the virtues such as kindness, tolerance etc., and shunning of unlawful work (vidharma) and association with uncultured people (grāmya-sanga) (chap. 74); building of Viṣṇu-temples, and construction of images of the god with gold, silver, copper, brass, stone, wood, earth etc. (chaps. 75, 99); description of Viṣṇu as Brahma and the source of the universe (chap. 95); process of origin of the world from Viṣṇu, although he is unchangeable (apariṇāmī—chap. 96); description and praise of Yoga said to have been declared originally by Hiraṇyagarbha (chaps. 97-98); distinction of Yoga into Para and Apara, and their characteristics; description of a Viṣṇu-image, 50 which is to be constructed with

- 47 This Kriyā-yoga is said to have been spoken out by Brahmā, from whom it came down to Prahlāda through Svārociṣa Manu, Rtacakṣus, Sukra and others. It includes construction of images and temples of Viṣṇu with different materials, bathing of an image of Viṣṇu with ghee and milk on different occasions, offer of various articles (including different kinds of cloth, viz., dukūla, paṭṭa, kauśeya, kārpāsika, etc.) and of select flowers and leaves (including Tulasī and Kāla-tulasī).
- 48 Viz., Vikrama-vrata, Viṣṇu-pada-traya-vrata, Suddhi-vrata, and Kṛṣṇā-ṣṭamī-vrata alias Devakī-vrata (chaps. 83, 84, 89 and 90).

49 Viz., Go-dāna, Tila-dhenu-dāna, Ghṛta-dhenu-dāna, Jala-dhenu-dāna, etc. (chaps. 85-88 and 91).

50 The relevant verses, as reconstructed from ASB Mss Nos. 1670 (fols.

231b-232a) and 3506 (fol. 166a-b), run as follows:

kāryas tu viṣṇur bhagavān saumya-rūpaś caturbhujaḥ/salila-dhvānta-meghābhaḥ śrīmān śrīvatsa-bhūṣitaḥ//ābaddha-mukuṭaḥ sragvī hāra-bhārārpitodaraḥ/svikṣaṇaś cāru-cikuraḥ sulalāṭena subhruṇā/svoṣṭhena sukapolena vadanena virājitaḥ//kaṇṭhena śubha-lekhena varābharaṇa-dhāriṇā/nānā-ratnārcitābhyāṃ ca śravānābhyām alaṃkṛtaḥ//

gold, silver, copper, brass, stone, wood, earth etc. or to be painted, and in which Brahma is to be contemplated during worship (chap. 99); description and practice of yama⁵¹ and niyama⁵² and the other means of attaining Yoga (yogāṅga), viz., āsana, prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi;⁵³ detailed discourse on dhyāna; praise of Yogins, who only are said to experience Viṣṇu in his supreme state (chap. 100); due performance or neglect of one's lawful work causing birth in a higher or lower caste; discourses on universal duties⁵⁴ and on those enjoined by one's caste or order of life (chap. 101); means of attaining Advaitajñāna; explanation of Viṣṇu's highest state (paraṃ rūpam) and his birth in parts on earth (chaps. 102-103); measurement of time by kāṣṭhā, kalā, muhūrta etc.; duration of yugas; state of Dharma and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa's appearance in different forms (including Kalkin) in the different yugas (chap. 104); elaborate description of the evils of the Kali age (chap. 105).

For the effective glorification of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu (also called Vāsudeva) the Viṣṇudharma has a number of devotional hymns, viz., Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra (chap. 69), Sārasvata-stava spoken out by Sarasvatī (chap. 70), Viṣṇvaṣṭaka (chap. 71), Bali's eulogy of Viṣṇu's Sudraśana-cakra (chap. 78), two hymns for the removal of sins (pāpa-praśamana-stava

puṣṭa-śliṣṭāyata-bhujas tanu-tāmra-nakhāṅguliḥ/ madhyena trivalī-bhaṅga-bhūṣitena ca cāruṇā/ supādaḥ sūru-yugalaḥ sukaṭī-gulpha-jānukaḥ// vāma-pārśve gadā-devī cakraṃ devasya dakṣiṇe/ śaṅkho vāma-kare deyo dakṣiṇe padma-suprabham// ūrdhva-dṛṣṭim adho-dṛṣṭiṃ tiryag-dṛṣṭiṃ na kārayet/ nimīlitākṣo bhagavān supraśasto janārdanaḥ// saumyā tu dṛṣṭiḥ kartavyā kiṃcit-prahasiteva ca/ kāryaś caraṇa-vinyāsaḥ sarvataḥ supratiṣṭhitaḥ// caraṇāntara-saṃsthā ca vibhratī rūpam uttamam/ kāryā vasuṃdharā devī tat-pāda-tala-cāriṇī// yādṛg-vidhā vā manasaḥ sthairya-lambhopapādikā/ nṛsiṃha-vāmanādīnāṃ tādṛśiṃ kārayed budhaḥ//

- 51 It consists of ahimsā, śama, asteya, brahmacarya, and aparigraha.
- 52 Consisting of samtosa, śauca, svādhyāya, tapas, and iśvara-bhāvanā.
- 53 For the definition of 'samādhi' see ASB Ms No. 1670, fol. 233a, and No. 3506, fol. 167a.
 - 54 These are the eight guṇas, viz., anasūyā, dayā, kṣānti, śauca etc.

—chaps. 92-93), Arjuna's eulogy of Kṛṣṇa (in which many incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's infancy at Vṛndāvana have been mentioned —chap. 35), and many others (for which see chaps. 2, 39, 68, 72, 76 and 103).

In connection with the above contents the Visnudharma narrates a number of stories, one of which is highly interesting and sheds a flood of light on the attitude of an important section of people towards Buddhism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious systems current in those days. This story, which has been given in chap. 25 in connection with the description and denouncement of Pāṣaṇḍas, runs as follows.

In ancient times the mortals, being pious through the due performance of their duties, could go to heaven at the mere wish, and the gods also grew stronger by getting their due share in the sacrifices. Consequently, the Daiteyas and Asuras could not prevail upon the gods. In course of time two Daiteyas, Sanda and Marka by name, intended to annihilate the gods and performed a dangerous kṛtyā (a magic rite meant for destructive purposes), from which came out a dreadful figure called Mahāmoha, who had a very dark body resembling a mass of darkness and was extremely fierce, haughty, deceitful and lazy.55 This Mahamoha was divided by Sanda and Marka into four parts, one of which decried the gods and Brahmins, another discouraged people from practising Yoga, the third engaged them in unlawful acts (vikarman), and the fourth deprived them of their jñana, made them accept ajñana as jñana under infatuation, and took delight in whatever went against the Vedas (veda-vāda-virodhena yā kathā sāsya rocate). Thus produced by Ṣaṇḍa and Marka, this Mahāmoha, 'who was adharma in person' (adharma-svarūpaḥ) and was polluted by pride and other vices, took his position among the people (lokesv eva vyavasthitah) and deluded them in various ways. By his misleading instructions he turned them worthless through infatuation (mohābhibhava-niḥsārān) and made them discard their conscience as well as their respective duties enjoined upon them by their castes. Being mad with their wrong knowledge, these infatuated people set themselves to unlawful

⁵⁵ tatrotpanno 'tikṛṣṇāṅgas tamaḥ-prāyo 'tidāruṇaḥ/ dambhādhāraḥ śāṭhya-sāro nidrā-prakṛtir ulvaṇaḥ//—fol. 42b.

acts by defying the instructions of their friends and the learned people, to whom they gave replies with misleading and confusing arguments (prayacchanty uttaraṃ mūḍhāḥ kūṭa-yukti-samanvitam). They turned Pāṣaṇḍins (or Pāṣaṇḍas)⁵⁶ and Vrātyas, knew no sacraments, spoke highly of the food received from others (parānna-guṇa-vādinaḥ), caused mixture of castes, did not care for the purification of the body, decried the rites sanctioned by the Vedas—Rk, Yajuḥ and Sāma, and preached the doctrine of the non-existence of any thing (nānyadastīti-vādinaḥ). They also spread their influence upon the less intelligent (alpa-mati) section of people and made them discard their own lawful duties and perform unlawful acts. Thus, they led themselves as well as others to hell (fol. 43a-b).

There is another story, given in chaps. 102-103, which narrates the creation of Urvaśī by the sage Nārāyaṇa, one of the four sons of Dharma, the other three being Nara, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. In this story it is said that while Nara and Nārāyaṇa were practising austerities (tapas) and yoga in the Gandhamādana mountain, 'lions, tigers etc. (turned nonviolent and) moved about complacently in that mountain with deer', 57 that, apprehending the occupation of heaven by Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Indra sent Rambhā, Tilottamā and other nymphs with Cupid (Smara, Madana) and Spring (Vasanta) to distract the sages, that Nara and Nārāyaṇa gave themselves out to the unsuccessful nymphs to be parts of Vāsudeva who was catur-vyūha, māyin, and identical with Paramātman and pervaded and comprised all, and that, being propitiated by the nymphs, Nārāyaṇa gave out a laugh and thus showed the entire universe, together with the gods, in his mouth.

The other stories include those of Sāmbharāyaṇī's attainment of an extremely long life by performing the Māsa-ṛkṣa-pūjā, and her narration to Indra and Bṛhaspati of the accounts of the previous Indras from her personal knowledge (chap. 27); (Kārtavīrya) Arjuna's

57 simha-vyāghrādayah saumyāś ceruh saha mṛgair girau.—Fol. 241a.

⁵⁶ According to Lakṣmidhara, Caṇḍeśvara and others, Pāṣaṇḍas are those who are extra-Yedic (pākhaṇḍādayo veda-bāhyāḥ—Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 22; pākhaṇḍā veda-bāhyāḥ—Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 28; and so on). Vallālasena takes Pāṣaṇḍins (or Pāṣaṇḍas) to mean those people who give instructions on anti-Vedic Dharma (pāṣaṇḍino veda-viparīta-dharmopadeṣṭāraḥ—Dānasāgara, p. 57).

birth to her mother Sīladhanā as a result of the latter's observance of the Ananta-vrata, his worship of Visnu in the form of Dattatreya, and his attainment of paramountcy through his favour (chap. 30); keeping a thousand lamps burning day and night in a Visnu-temple by Lalita (daughter of Citraratha, king of Vidarbha, and chief queen of Caruvarman, king of Kaśi), who was, in her previous birth, a mouse in a Vișnu-temple (constructed by Maitreya, a Brahmin minister of the king of Sauvīra) on the bank of the river Devikā and chanced to keep a lamp burning there in course of her escape for fear of a cat (chap. 32); Vīrabhadra of Vaidiśa, who, being at the point of death in the Vindhya forest, was found lying on heated sand by a Brahmin named Pipīta (chap. 37); the two Aśvins' meeting at Pratisthana with Aila Pururavas, who would not see them without being properly dressed, their explanation to him of the transitoriness of everything on earth by referring to the opinions of Kapila, Pañcasikha, Magārista (?), Janaka, Hiranyagarbha, Jaigīsavya and Devala on the highest bliss (param śreyah), and their instructions to the king on karma to be done by him (chap. 38); appearance of Dharma in the form of a Candala, and his instructions to Yudhisthira on Visnu-worship (chap. 64); Visnu's assumption of the form of a Brahmin and meeting with Janaka, and the latter's praise of the former as the highest truth (chap. 65); an elephant's eulogy of Nārāyaṇa and getting free from the clutch of a crocodile living in a lake on the Citrakūta mountain (gajendra-moksana—chap. 67); a Kṣatriya's turning a Rākṣasa after death, his attack in his new form on two Brahmins, who saved themselves from his hands by citing the Visnu-panjara-stotra and the Sarasvata-stava, and his going to Sālagrāma for practising austerities (chaps. 69-70); Cedi-rāja Vasu's loss of power of moving through the sky, his consquent fall into Pātāla, a nether world, his self-protection from the hands of the Danavas, who tried to take his life, and his rescue from there by Viṣṇu (chap. 72); Aditi's prayer to Kṛṣṇa for the safety of her sons and the security of Indra, and Kṛṣṇa's entrance into Aditi's womb to be born as her son Vāmana (chap. 75); birth of Vāmana, and his sending of Bali to Sutala, a nether world, saying that as soon as Bali would go against the Brahmins, he would be bound with Varuna's

noose (chaps. 76-77); appearance of Visnu's Sudarsana-cakra before Bali after it had been worshipped by the latter to stop the mischief it had been doing to the pregnant wives of Daityas by its passage through the air (chap. 78); Sumana's dialogue with Sandili, a Brahmin woman, who found Sumana residing happily in heaven with her husband and having an odorous and beautiful body by worshipping Visnu with various articles dear to themselves and by bathing the god with ghee (chap. 81); and king Māndhātṛ's attainment of royal fortune as a result of serving, with his devoted wife, in a Visnutemple and attending upon Yogins in his previous birth as a cruel Sūdra, who was always bent on doing harm to others, maltreated his chaste and devoted wife, and failed to earn his livelihood by agriculture (chaps. 82-83). In chap. 94 Saunaka is found to narrate the story of a wicked, treacherous and undutiful Ksatriya named Vimati as follows: Being discarded by his parents and relatives for his misconduct Vimati used to maintain his family by killing animals. During the summer he met in a forest a sage who was afflicted with thirst. Vimati took pity on him and took him to a lake. The sage was satisfied, and, learning Vimati's conduct by meditation, advised him to utter the word 'Govinda' incessantly. Vimati did so and felt happy. In course of time Vimati died and was reborn in a Brahmin family with the power of recalling the memory of his previous births. In this life he remembered all the previous sufferings and had great indifference. He eulogised Kṛṣṇa for his pity, and the latter freed him from all sins and gave him final release.

From the above indication of the contents of the Viṣṇudharma it is evident that the entire subject-matter of this work has been set out in the forms of a number of primary and secondary dialogues, which are as follows:

1. Principal interlocutors—Saunaka and Satānīka.

A. Saunaka reports to Satānīka the interlocutions between the following persons:

(1) Brahmā and the sages (Marīci and others) (chap. 1).

(2) Visnu and Ambarīsa (chap. 2).

(3) Vasistha and Ambarīsa (chaps. 2-42). [Vasistha reports to Ambarīsa the interlocution between

(i) Sukra and Prahlada (chap. 3).

Sukra reprodruces to Prahlada the interlocution between

(a) Pulastya and Dālbhya (4-42).

Pulastya reproduces to Dālbhya the interlocutions
between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī (chaps. 13-16),
between Saṃkara and Devī (chaps. 21-22),
between Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī (chap. 29),
between Maitreyī and Sīladhanā (chap. 30),
between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna (chaps. 35-36),
between the Aśvins and Aila Purūravas (chap. 38).]

- (4) Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira (chaps. 43-63).
- (5) Bhīma and Yudhisthira (chap. 67).
- (6) Prahlāda and Bali (chaps. 76, 79-83).

[Prahlāda reports to Bali the interlocution between Vasistha and Māndhātr (chaps. 83-91).

Vasistha reports to Māndhātṛ the dialogue between Gauramukha and Parīkṣit (chaps. 89-90).]

In the remaining chapters Saunaka speaks direct to Satānīka.

A perusal of the Viṣṇudharma shows that it is purely a Vaiṣṇava work on the glorification and worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, who, in his supreme state, is said to be the same as Visnu or Nārāyana. According to this work, Kṛṣṇa (often called Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa) is allpowerful (īśa), unborn, eternal and boundless, and, being the Universal Soul, resides in the heart of all. He has no beginning, transcends both the real and the unreal (sadasatah param-chap. 2) and is identical with the Supreme Brahma. He has two states of existence -'para' and 'apara', and is consequently both dual and nondual (bhedābheda-svarūpastha—chap. 1). Although he is unchangeable (aparināmī), he is the cause and source of creation, which is explained from the standpoint of 'bhedabheda' (duality and nonduality—chap. 96). It is he who, in creation, becomes Pradhana and Purusa by līlā, and also Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by fancy (chap. 1). He comprises all including the universe, which lies in his belly (brahmandam udareśayam). For the good of created beings he incarnates himself on earth in parts (kalā, aṃśa) as Vāmana, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, and others.58

⁵⁸ Vāmana is said to be a partial incarnation of Vāsudeva-vāsudevaḥ

Even Kṛṣṇa (son of Vasudeva and Devakī) is said in more places than one to be a partial incarnation of this Supreme Kṛṣṇa⁵⁵ (also called Vāsudeva) who, as has already been said, is the same as Viṣṇu in his supreme state. In chap. 102 Vāsudeva is identified with Paramātman and said to be catur-vyūba and māyin.⁵⁰

As to the best way of realising Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu the Viṣṇudharma puts great stress on the practice of Yoga, which it characterises in the following verse of Saunaka (said to Satānīka):

"pareṇa brahmaṇā sārdham ekatvaṃ yan nṛpātmanaḥ/ sa eva yogo vikhyātaḥ kim anyad yoga-lakṣaṇam//" (Chap. 99, fol. 231a).

"It is unity, O king, of the (individual) soul with the Supreme Brahma that is well known as yoga. What else is the characteristic of yoga?"

kalayāvatīrņaļi (chap. 76, fol. 161b); amśāvatīrņena ca yena (chap. 76, fol. 162a).

Nara and Nārāyaṇa describe themselves as extremely small parts of Vāsudeva.—

sa sarva-vāsi-devatvād vāsudevety udāhṛtaḥ/ vayam aṃśāṃśakās tasya caturvyūhasya māyinaḥ// (chap. 102, fol. 244a).

Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu calls Lāṅgalī Rāma (i.e. Balarāṃa) the second part of himself.— Cf. dvitīyo yo mamāṃśas tu rāmo 'nantaḥ sa lāṅgalī (chap. 66, fol. 127a).

In chap. 101 Brahmā and other gods are said to be parts of Viṣṇu.—
yato hi devatāḥ sarvā brahmādyāḥ kuru-nandana/
aṃśabhūtā jagad-dhātur viṣṇor avyakta-janmanaḥ// (fol. 239b).

59 Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, being worshipped by Devakī, assured the latter of his birth as her son, saying:

"bhavişyaty acirād devi mad-amsena sutas tava" (chap. 90, fol. 206a).

See also fol. 206b-

avāpa ca tato garbham devakī vasudevataḥ/ ajāyata ca viśveśaḥ svenāmśena janārdanaḥ//

By calling Lāngalī Rāma the second part of himself Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu suggests that Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa also was one of his parts.

60 For the relevant verse see foot-note 58 above.

It classifies Yoga into two types, viz., para and apara⁶¹, which are better known as jñāna-yoga and kriyā-yoga (i. e. karma-yoga) respectively; and it briefly distinguishes between these two types saying:

"jñāna-yogaś ca saṃyogaś cittasyaivātmanā tu yaḥ/
yas tu bāhyārtha-sāpekṣaḥ sa kriyā-yoga ucyate//"
(Chap. 80, fol. 183a-b).

"Yoga by knowledge is communion of the mind with Ātman, but Yoga by work is what depends upon external objects."

By the apara type of Yoga (or Kriyā-yoga, which is intended for those who are unable to control their mind in spite of their sincere devotion for the god)⁶² it means worship of the deity in images, with the practice of yama and niyama, which are said to be the causes of success in Yoga (chaps. 99-100). It looks upon karma (work) as the only cause of bondage for creatures, and says that karma causes the distinction between Kṣetrajña and Paramātman (bhedaś ca karma-janitaḥ kṣetrajña-paramātmanoḥ—chap. 96, fol. 225a). It follows the Bhagavad-gītā in stating that it is selfless work and constant devotional service and complete self-surrender to the god which can liberate people from the bonds of karma and make them merge into him.⁶³ By way of pres-

61 For detailed treatment of para and apara yoga see chap. 99 (fols. 230b-232b).

62 Cf. chap. 2—
bhaktyātipravaṇasyāpi cañcalaṃ tvan-mano yadi/
mayy upāsye bhaved bhūpa kuru mad-rūpiṇiṃ tanum// (fol. 10a).

Chap. 79, fol. 176b—
karoşi yāni karmāṇi tāni deve jagat-patau/
samarpayasva bhadraṃ te tataḥ karma prahāsyasi//
kṣīṇa-karmā mahābāho śubhāśubha-vivarjitaḥ/
layam abhyeti govinde tad brahma paramaṃ mahat//

For relevant verses see also chap. 1 (fol. 4b—tanniṣṭhās tad-gata-dhiyas tat-karmāṇas tad-āśrayāḥ/, etc.).

cribing karma which the Vaisnavas should do for freedom from bondage and the consequent rebirths, this work extols not only worship, muttering of mantra, constant remembrance of the deity, service to Visnu-temples, presents and donations, fasting and other austere practices, ⁶⁴ and so on, but also the due performance of Varnāśramadharma as known from the Vedas, the Smṛtis (especially that of Manu), and the Purāṇas. ⁶⁵ In chap. 74 Viṣṇu is found to speak to Lakṣmī on the characteristics of his favourites, thus:

"O beautiful lady, those people are my devotees who fare without transgressing even by mind the duties declared by Sruti and Smṛti.

"As I took the form of Brahma, the Vedas came out of my mouth; and it is to me appearing in the forms of Manu and others that the Smṛtis are known to belong.

"Sruti and Smrti are my command. He, O auspicious one, who worships me with all his belongings by violating that (command of mine), does not attain me, O venerable one, a violator of (my) command as he is.

"To him, who does not deviate from his own duty or indulge in doing harm (to others) and who always has devotion for me, I am not difficult to attain."66

It is further said that by the due performance of his duties enjoined by his caste and order of life a member of a lower caste is elevated in his next birth to the immediately higher caste, that the reverse happens in case of neglect of the same, and that an honest

⁶⁴ For mention of some of these practices see chap. 47 (fols. 93a ff.).

⁶⁵ See especially chaps. 42, 44, and 52.

for samullanghya pravartante te bhaktā mama bhāmini//
samullanghya pravartante te bhaktā mama bhāmini//
brahma-rūpa-dharasyāsyān mama vedā viniḥṣrtāḥ/,
manvādi-rūpiṇaś caiva samastāḥ smṛtayaḥ smṛtāḥ//
śrutiḥ smṛtir mamaivājñā tām ullanghya yajec chubhe/
sarvasvenāpi mām devi nāpnoty ājñā-vighātakṛt//
yaḥ sva-dharmān na calati hiṃsādau yo na sajyyate/
vahatas tasya mad-bhaktiṃ sadaivāhaṃ na durlabhaḥ//
Fol. 157a-b.

and dutiful Brahmin is blessed with final release. Thus, the Visnudharma firmly believes in caste-system, which, in its opinion, is a pointer to a man's progress to the attainment of final emancipation.

As regards the highest (para) type of Yoga (i.e. Jñāna-yoga) the Visnudharma says that it is this Yoga which finally severs the bonds of karma and leads one to kaivalya by putting a stop to all the functions of the mind. Although this type of yoga is thus 'the veritable ambrosia ensuring the complete cessation of sufferings', it is extremely difficult to attain and requires strenuous efforts extending over many births, because one finds it very difficult to control the organs of senses and to get over their objects (visaya). On the other hand, being deluded by their own karma creatures regard their souls as separate from Paramatman and undergo rebirths.68 Viṣṇudharma extols and prescribes the much easier Kriyā-yoga, which leads definitely to jñana and thus makes one experience unity with Brahma by completely severing the bonds of karma. 69 According to this work Yoga benefits all without distinction of caste and sex, and this distinction is determined by their progress in Yoga, because by its practice one may pass from womanhood successively through the different states of existence as members of different castes beginning with that of a Sudra, until one becomes a Brahmin and attains final emancipation. By naming a number of persons of different castes and sexes who attained success in Yoga,70 it asserts that the proper

Chap. 101, fols. 236b-237aśūdra-dharmān aścṣeṇa kurvan śūdro yathāvidhi/ vaiśyatvam eti vaiśyaś ca kṣatriyatvam sva-karmakṛt// vipratvam kṣatriyah samyak dvija-dharma-paro nṛpa/ vipraś ca mukti-lābhena yujyate sat-kriyā-paraḥ//

paśyaty ātmānam anyatra yāvad vai paramātmanah/ 68 tāvat sa bhrāmyate jantur mohito nija-karmaņā//

Chap. 96, fol. 225a.

samkṣiṇāśeṣa-karmā tu param brahma prapaśyati; and 69 samkṣiṇa-karma-bandhasya na bhedo brahmaṇā saha.

Chap. 96, fol. 225a.

70 These persons are Jaigīṣavya, Asita, Hiraṇyanābha, Janaka, Tulādhāra and other Vaisyas, Pelavaka and other Sūdras, Maitreyi, Sulabhā, Gārgi, Sāṇḍili, Dharmavyādha and others. (Fol. 230a-b).

practice of Yoga is sure to lead one of any caste or sex to final release.71

It has already been said that in chap. I the Viṣṇudharma describes Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu) as 'bhedābheda-svarūpastha', and in chap. 96 it explains the creation of the universe from the standpoint of 'bhedābheda'. So, there is little scope for doubt that the philosophical view advocated by the Viṣṇudharma is 'bhedābheda' or 'dvaitādvaita' (duality and nonduality). As a matter of fact, this work expressly says:

"advaitam paramārtho hi dvaitam tad-bheda ucyate/ ubhayam brahmaņo rūpam dvaitādvaita-vibhedataḥ//"⁷²

The Viṣṇudharma, as we have it at present, is decidedly a work of the Bhāgavatas. It prescribes the sectarian mantra 'om namo vāsudevāya' (chap. 79, fol. 181b), and characterises and highly praises the Bhāgavatas at more places than one. It looks upon these sectaries as superior to the performers of austerity (tapas) and costly sacrifices, and says that to be eligible for Viṣṇu-worship one has to become a Bhāgavata, because no one other than a Bhāgavata can merge in him or even eulogise him rightly or see him or have true knowledge about him. It further adds that it is by great religious merit that a person becomes a Bhāgavata devoted to Bhagavat Janārdana, who is the same as Paramātman, and that the god of death does not allow his servants to lay their hands on the sincere Bhāgavatas.

We shall now try to determine the period of composition of the present Visnudharma, which has been recognised very widely as a

- 71 See chap. 98.
- 72 Chap. 96, fol. 225b.
- 73 See chaps. 3, 79 and 80.
- 74 For the relevant verse see foot-note 38 above.
- 75 paramātmā ca bhagavān viṣvakseno janārdanaḥ/, tad-bhaktimān bhāgavato nālpa-puṇyena jāyate// Chap. 79, fol. 176a.
- 76 Cf. ye tu bhāgavatā loke bhavitās tat-parāyaṇāḥ/
 pūjayanti sadā viṣṇuṃ te vas tyājyāḥ sudūrataḥ//
 (said by Yama to his servants).—Chap. 80, fol. 184a.

respectable source of Dharma. As a matter of fact, on the strength of some verses of the Bhaviṣya-p.77 Lakṣmīdhara, Caṇḍeśvara and others accept the Visnudharma to be as much authoritative on Dharma as the Purāṇas and rank it with the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa etc.78 These scholars as well as many others quote from it numerous verses, and sometimes even complete chapters, in their respective works. For instance, verses are found quoted from chap. 4 in Gadādhara's Kālasāra, from chaps. 2, 4, 10, 25, 32, 81 and 105 in Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa, from chaps. 48 and 53 in Govindānanda Kavikankanācārya's Dāna-kaumudī, from chaps. 9, 25, 88 and 91 in Candeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara, from chaps. 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 21, 24, 25, 34, 49, 50, 53, 61, 79, 83, 84 and 86-89 in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, from chap. 81 in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛṭi-candrikā, from chaps. 22, 25, 38, 60 and 86-88 in Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmṛṭi, from chaps. 25, 45, 53, 58-60, 85-88 and 91 in Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, from chaps. 9 and 13 in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, and from chaps. 96-98 in the Svetāśvatara-upanisad-bhāṣya ascribed to Samkara.79 In his account of India Alberūnī names the 'Visnudharma', to which he ascribes the verses quoted by him from the present Visnudharmottara, obviously by taking the latter work to be a part of the former. The present Visnudharmottara, which, as we shall see afterwards,700 was composed between 400 and 500 A.D., betrays

These verses are the following: 77 aṣṭādaśa-purāṇeṣu yāni vākyāni putraka/ tāny ālocya mahābāho tathā smṛty-antareșu ca// manv-ādi-smṛtayo yās tu ṣaṭtrimsat parikirtitāh/ tāsām vākyāni kramaśah samālocya bravīmi te// and

astādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritam tathā/ viṣṇudharmādi-śastrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata// etc. (quoted above).

For these verses see Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, pp. 24 and 25, Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 29 and 30, and so on.

78 See Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 25, and Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 30. See also Nityā-

cāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22.

79 According to S. K. Belvalkar the ascription of the Svetāśvatara-upaniṣadbhāṣya to Śaṃkarācārya 'is more or less debatable.'—See Belvalkar, Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedanta Philosophy, p. 218.

79a Under 'Visnudharmottara' below. See also Hazra in Journal of the

University of Gauhati, III, 1952, pp. 43-58.

its knowledge of the Visnudharma by claiming, in two of its verses,80 to be the latter part of this work and by giving some stories which are decidedly based on and developed from the same as occurring in it. 80a By a critical examination of the genuine Āgneya-purāņa (alias Vahni-purāņa)81 we have found that this work originally concerned itself with the Fire cult of the Agnihotri Brahmins of the Yajurveda, dealt with the five Puranic topics as well as with the various duties and sacrificial rites of these Brahmins, and advocated the worship of Rudra in the form of Agni, that it passed through three main stages before attaining its present form, extent and character, and that in the second stage it was appropriated by the Vaisnavas (most probably the Bhagavatas) who modified this work with chapters and verses from the Visnudharma dealing with Vaisnava Kriyāyoga and having Vasistha and king Ambarīsa as the principal interlocutors. 82 As these chapters and verses common to the two works are very numerous and as the Visnudharma has not yet been printed and its verses are not numbered, we give below a list of only those chapters of the two works which have large numbers of verses common to them.

		U		The state of the s
Agneya-p.		Visnudharma	Āgneya-p.	Visnudharma
28. 1-36	_	Chap. 1.	Chap. 36 -	Chaps. 82,
28. 37ff.	-	,, 2.	(verses 27ff).	
29. Iff.	_	Chaps. 3	,, 37 -	
		and 66.		16ff.) —,, 81.
Chap. 11	_	Chap. 52.		,, 61.
,, 31		,, Šo.	etc.	

That the Agneya-p. took these common chapters and verses from the Visnudharma, can be established by the following evidences:

(2) At the beginning of chap. 28 of the Agneya-p. the sages

⁸⁰ For these two verses see foot-note 24 above.

⁸⁰a For the relevant chapters containing these stories and for the grounds of their later date, see under 'Visnudharmottara' below.

⁸¹ In 1951 I discovered this work from the ASB Ms No. 8090, which was found wrongly described in Shastri's ASB Cat., V, p. 422 to be a Ms of the spurious Agni-p. published so often from different parts of India.

⁸² For our analysis of the genuine Agneya-p. (alias Vahni-p.) see Our Heritage (a half-yearly Bulletin of the Research Department, Sanskrit College, Calcutta), I, 1953, pp. 209-245, and II, 1954, pp. 77-110. See also Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, V, 1956, pp. 411-416.

request Sūta to speak on the various acts which please 'Kṛṣṇa' and yield final liberation; and in compliance with this request Sūta agrees to tell them elaborately about (Kriyā-) Yoga, which, he says, was spoken out to him by his father, who had received it from Vahni, the Fire-god, through Marīci. He then goes on to speak on Kriyā-yoga and narrates the story of king Ambarisa in almost the same way and the same words as those in Visnudharma, chaps. 1-3, the main difference between the two sources being that in the Visnudharma this story is narrated by Saunaka to king Satānīka and Kriyā-yoga is said to have been spoken out first by Brahmā to Marīci, Bhṛgu and others and then by Vasiṣṭha to king Ambarīṣa through Viṣṇu's favour, whereas in Agneya-p., chap. 28 it is narrated by Sūta to the sages of the Naimisa forest as an interlocution between Vahni (the Fire-god) and Marīci, and the discourse on Kriyā-yoga is traced back to the Fire-god (Vahni, Agni), who is said to have narrated it first of all to Marici and others and from whom Vasistha is said to have heard it during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci).83

(2) In all the Mss of the Āgneya-p. we have been able to consult, the colophon of chap. 28 (which contains the said story of king Ambarīṣa and has, in its latter part, many verses in common with chap. 2 of the Viṣṇudharma) has been given as 'devāmbarīṣa-saṃvādo nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ', clearly in imitation of the colophon of chap. 2 of the Viṣṇudharma which runs as 'iti viṣṇudharmeṣv acyutāmbarīṣa-saṃvādo nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ'.

(3) It is in chap. 28 of the Agneya-p. (and not in chap. 3, wherein the story is given as to how the Fire-god came to speak to Marīci and other sages on the various Purānic topics) that Vasistha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard the Kriyā-yoga from Vahni during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci).

(4) In several places of the Agneya-p. the words 'viṣṇudharma', 'vaiṣṇava dharma' and 'vaiṣṇava-dharma' have been used, though in their literal sense.

It should be mentioned here that in chap. 3 of the Agneya-p. the Fire-god is said to have spoken to Marīci and other sages on the

⁸³ For the relevant verses see Agneya-p., chap. 28, verses 10·12 (fol. 97a) and 118-119 (fol. 101a).

different Purānic topics during the sacrifice instituted by Marīci, there being no mention of Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga or of Vasiṣṭha as a hearer, that it is as late as in chap. 28 (which, as we have already seen, is constituted of verses mostly taken from Viṣṇudharma, chap. 2) that Vasiṣṭha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard discourses on Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga from the Fire-god during a sacrifice (most probably the one instituted by Marīci),⁸⁴ and that in several places of the Āgneya-p. Vasiṣṭha has been made to refer either to Vahni as the original speaker or to the interlocution between Vahni and Marīci.⁸⁵ So, there is no doubt that the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa marks a later stage in the constitution of the present Āgneya-p. than that in which this Purāṇa was a work of the Agnihotrī Brahmins of the Yajurveda and had Vahni and Marīci as interlocutors.

From what has been said above it is evident that the Agneya-p. borrowed the common chapters and verses from the Visnudharma. Our critical analysis of this work has shown that it must have been recast by the Vaisnavas not later than 500 A.D.86 The way in which the language and contents of the Visnudharma, as well as the colophon of chap. 2 and the speaker Vasistha in chaps. 2-42 of the same work, have been utilised in the Agneya-p., shows definitely that at the time when the Agneya-p. was recast by the Vaisnavas, the Visnudharma attained sufficient recognition in society. That this recognition was very wide and deep-rooted is quite evident from the facts that in two of its verses the Visnudharmottara claims to be the latter part of the Visnudharma and that the Bhavişya-p. mentions it once in the Madhyama-parvan (7.8b-11), and twice in the Brāhmaparvan (4. 87-89, and 216. 36-37) together with 'the eighteen Purāṇas', the Rāmāyaṇa (called 'Rama's biography'), the Sivadharma, the Mahābhārata and the Saura-dharma. It may be mentioned here that the present Brāhma-parvan of the Bhavisya-p. cannot be dated

⁸⁴ For the relevant verses see Agneya-p. 28. 10-12 (fol. 97a), 28. 118-9 (fol. 101a), and 29. 3 (fol. 101a).

⁸⁵ See, for instance, Agneya-p. 29. 3 (fol. 101a), 53. 4 (fol. 161a), and 54. 35a (fol. 165b).

⁸⁶ See Our Heritage, II, 1954, p. 79.

much later than the sixth century A.D.⁸⁷ Like the Āgneya-p. the Bhaviṣyottara also has a good number of chapters in common with the Viṣnudharma, so and it may be that these chapters were taken by the Bhaviṣyottara from the Viṣnudharma. As the Bhaviṣyottara must have been compiled between 700 and 800 A.D., and most probably towards the end of the eighth century, to tould not have been utilised by the Viṣnudharma, except in the case of two chapters to be mentioned hereinafter. Whatever the relation between the Bhaviṣyottara and the Viṣnudharma may have been, it is evident that the Viṣnudharma attained wide recognition as a respectable authority on Dharma by the beginning of the fifth century A.D. So, it could not be composed later than about 300 A.D.

This lower limit of the date of the Viṣṇudharma finds full support in the facts that this work, though speaking so often of Viṣṇu-worship, is completely free from Tantric elements, that it does not betray its knowledge of any work written later than the end of the second century A.D., and that it mentions the Nakṣatras in the old order from Kṛttikā.⁹¹ We know from the evidence of the Śrauta- and the Gṛḥya-sūtras, the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, and the latest books of the

87 See Hazra, Purāņic Records, p. 172.

88 These common chapters are the following:

Bhavisyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV)		Viṣṇudharma	Bhavisyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV)		Vișņudharma	
Chap. 77	=	Chap. 14.	Chap. 107	=	Chap.	27.
,, 78	=	,, 15.	,, 108	=	,,	29.
, 79	=	,, 16.	,, 130		,,	32.
,, 82	=	,, 37.	,, 152		"	86.
,, 106.	=	,, 30.	,, 153	=	,,	88,

Bhav. I. 107 = Viṣṇudharma, chap. 18.

Bhav. I. 20, and IV. 15-cf. Visnudharma, chap. 41.

89 The line 'vārāheṇa purā proktām mahāpātaka-nāśinīm' of Bhav. IV. 152 (which agrees with Viṣṇudharma, chap. 86) raises doubt about the source of the Bhaviṣyottara and seems to suggest that at least this chapter was derived by the Bhaviṣyottara from the Varāha-p.

90 See Hazra in Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, III, 1953, pp. 24-26.

91 See Visnudharma, chap. 26 (fol. 44a).

Mahābhārata that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A.D. that we find in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira the order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So, it can be held, and not quite unreasonably, that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

As regards the upper limit of the date of the Viṣṇudharma it may be said that it mentions the Smṛṭi works of Manu and others, 92 incorporates verses from the Mahābhārata, 93 the Bhagavad-gītā, 94 and the Manu-smṛṭi, 95 frequently denounces the Pāṣaṇḍas, especially the Buddhists, 96 speaks very highly of the Bhāgavatas, 97 and narrates the interesting story of Mahāmoha, 98 which must have preceded that (in Viṣṇu-p. III. 17-18) giving out the Buddha to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. So, the Viṣṇudharma is to be dated not earlier than 200 A.D.

Thus, the date of composition of the present Visnudharma falls between 200 and 300 A.D.

- 92 Ibid., chap. 44 (fols. 88b ff.), in which the Dharma-samhitās of Manu, Vasistha, Parāśara, Atri, Gārgya, and many others have been mentioned. For these names see foot-note 45 above.
- 93 For instance, Mbh I. 74. 30 (āditya-candrāv analānilau ca) etc. occur in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 55 (fol. 101b), Mbh XIII. 115. 64 (caturo vārṣikān māsān) etc. occur in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 62 (fols. 112b ff.), Mbh III. 190. 13b-21a, 23, 25-26a, 30, 36, 43b-44, 46b, 49, etc. occur in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 105 (fols. 255a ff.), and so on.
- 94 For verses of the Bhagavad-gitā see Viṣṇudharma, chap. 2 (fol. 9a—man-manā bhava mad-bhaktaḥ), chap. 66 (fol. 123a—yadā yadā hi dharmasya glāniḥ). In chap. 35 (fols. 65b-66a—bhagavān uvāca—pūrvam eva yathākhyātaṃ raṇārambhe tavārjuna, etc.) there is a clear reference to the Bhagavad-gitā.
- 95 For verses of the Manu-smrti (3. 2, 6. 2, etc.) see especially chap. 101 of the Viṣṇudharma.
 - 96 See Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 25, 66, 73, 105, and so on.
 - 97 Ibid., chaps. 3, 80, etc.
 - 98 Ibid., chap. 25.

This early origin of the Viṣṇudharma must not be taken to be disproved by the mention of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 66, because from an examination of the different lists of Viṣṇu's incarnations as given in the Purāṇas, Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, and various other works we have found that the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D. 99 The relevant verses of Viṣṇudharma, chap. 66 run as follows:

tatah kali-yuge ghore samprāpte 'bja-samudbhava/ śuddhodana-suto buddho bhavisyāmi vimatsarah// bauddham dharmam upāśritya kariṣye dharma-deśanām/ narāṇām atha nārīṇām dayām bhūteṣu darśayan// raktāmbara-vyanjitāngāh praśanta-manasas tathā/ śūdrā dharmam pravaksyanti mayi buddharvam āgate// edūka-cihnā prthivī na deva-grha-bhūṣitā/ bhavitrī prāyaśo brahman mayi buddhatvam āgate// skandha-darśana-mātram hi paśyantah sakalam jagat/ śūdrāḥ śūdreṣu dāsyanti mayi buddhatvam āgate// alpāyuṣas tato martyā mohopahata-cetasaḥ/ narakārhāņi karmāņi kariṣyanti prajāpate// svādhyāyesv avasīdanto brāhmaņāh śauca-varjitāh/ antya-pratigrahādānam karisyanty alpa-medhasah// na śrosyanti pituh putrāh śvaśrū-śvaśurayoh snuṣāh/ na bhāryā bhartur īśasya na bhṛtyā vinaya-sthitāḥ// varņa-samkaratām prāpte loke 'smin dasyutām gate/ brāhmaṇādiṣu varṇeṣu bhaviṣyaty adharottaram// dharma-kañcuka-samvītā vidharma-rucayas tathā/ mānuṣān bhakṣayiṣyanti mlecchāḥ pārthiva-rūpiṇaḥ//100

There is no scope for doubt that these verses (in which Viṣṇu speaks to Brahmā) are later additions and were inserted into the Viṣṇudharma

⁹⁹ See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 41-42.
100 The above text of these verses is based on those given in ASB Mss
Nos. 1670 (fol. 127a-b) and 3506 (fol. 101a), which have variants too numerous
to be noted here

The line 'edūka-cihnā pṛthivī na deva-gṛha-bhūṣitā' is the same as Mbh III. 190. 67b.

after its language and contents had been utilised in the genuine Agneya-p. in the second stage of its modification. The reasons for such a conclusion are as follows:

- (1) In connection with a description of the Kali age Agneya-p. 29. 41 (fol. 102b) names the Buddha in the line 'śūdrā dharmam vadiṣyanti sākṣād buddhopajīvinaḥ'; but here the Buddha appears as the founder of a heretical faith, and there is not the slightest indication anywhere in the whole work that it looked upon the Buddha as an incarnation of Visnu. There is, of course, mention of 'ten incarnations' (daśāvatāra), without any complete list, in three places of the Agneyap., viz., in chaps. 3, 23 and 28, but this mention does not necessarily mean that the Buddha was one of them. According to the Narasimha-p., which, as we shall see afterwards, has a good number of verses in common with the Agneya-p., the ten manifestations or incarnations (prādurbhāvāh, avatārāh—Nar. 54. 1, 6) are the following: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Parasurāma, Rāma (son of Daśaratha), Balabhadra (Rāma), Kṛṣṇa and Kalki (Nar. 36-54).101 Thus, in its list of Visnu's ten manifestations or incarnations the Narasimha-p. names both Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, but not the Buddha. As a matter of fact, the Buddha came to be included in the list of Visnu's incarnations in place of Kṛṣṇa after the latter had ceased to be looked upon by a considerable section of people as a partial incarnation of Visnu and had become the Bhagavat himself.
- (2) Like the Narasimha-p., Viṣṇu-p. and other early works, the Viṣṇudharma names both Kṛṣṇa and 'Lāṅgalī Rāma' as partial incarnations of Viṣṇu in the thirteen lines (on fols. 126b-127a) immediately preceding those on the Buddha incarnation quoted above. It also names Kalkin, son of Viṣṇuyaśas, in the nine lines following those on the Buddha.
- (3) By way of describing dharma in the different Yugas in chap. 104 the Viṣṇudharma names Kṛṣṇa and Kalkin, but not the Buddha.

¹⁰¹ That Nar. 36. 9a, mentioning the Buddha as one of the manifestations of Viṣṇu, is undoubtedly spurious, we shall see below (under 'Narasiṃha-p.').

(4) In many other places of the Viṣṇudharma the incarnations of Viṣṇu have been named, 102 but there is no mention of the Buddha as an incarnation of this god anywhere except in the verses of chap. 66 quoted above. On the other hand, the Buddha has clearly been identified with Mahāmoha born of the malevolent rite (called kṛtyā) performed by the demons Ṣaṇḍa and Marka for the destruction of the gods, and his followers have been denounced at every step.

The name 'Māyāmohaka' for Viṣṇu, as occurring in king Ambarīṣa's eulogy of the god in chap. 2 (fol. 7b) of ASB Ms No. 1670 of the Viṣṇudharma, need not be taken to be based on Viṣṇu-p. III. 17 and 18, which narrate the story of Viṣṇu's creation of the delusive figure called Māyāmoha from his own body. In the other ASB Ms (No. 3506) of the Viṣṇudharma, which we have been able to consult, this name has been given as 'Māyāmohana' (which, therefore, has to be taken in its literal sense). The tradition of Viṣṇu's deluding creatures with his Māyā is very ancient and well known. The Viṣṇudharma itself says that pleasure in the association of Pāsaṇḍas and partiality for their logic are caused by Viṣṇu-māyā. Moreover, the story of Māyāmoha in Viṣṇu-p. III. 17-18 is to be dated later than the middle of the fourth century A. D. and probably not earlier than 500 A.D. 104

Toz For instance, chap. 28 names Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Rāma (Dāśarathi), Vaikuntha, Nara and Hayagrīva, chap. 39 omits Vaikuntha and Nara of chap. 28 but adds Bhārgavottama, chap. 40 names only Narasimha, Rāma (Dāśarathi) and Paraśurāma, chap. 67 names Kaurma, Mātsya, Vārāha, Vāmana, Tārkṣya and Nārasimha, chap. 68 names Varāha, Vāmana and Narasimha (the line 'rāmo rāmas' ca rāmas' ca etc.' on fol. 137a not occurring in ASB Ms No. 3506), and chap. 90 names Varāha, Nṛṣimha, Vāmana, Aśvasíras, Jāmadagnya, Rāghava and Kṛṣṇa (who is called 'recent'—sāmpratam),

The incarnations, named in chap. 66, are the following: Vārāha, Kāpila (said to be the first incarnation in a human form—jānāmi kāpilam rūpam prathamam pauruṣam mama—fol. 126a), Nṛṣimha, Kūrma, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Bhārgava-rāma, Rāghava-rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Lāngalī Rāma (said to be the second part of Viṣṇu—dvitīyo yo mamāmṣáh—fol. 127a), and Kalkin, the verses on the Buddha being spurious.

pāṣaṇḍeṣu ratiḥ puṃsāṃ hetu-vādānukūlatā/ jāyate viṣṇu-māyāmbhaḥ-patitānāṃ durātmanām// Chap. 3 (fol. 11b).

¹⁰⁴ See Hazra, Purāṇic Records, pp. 24-25.

The early date, to which we have assigned the Visnudharma, must not be taken to be that of all its chapters and verses. We have already seen that a part of chap. 66, dealing with the Buddha incarnation, is spurious. There are also two more complete chapters which were derived, most probably at a much later date, from the Bhavisyot-These are chaps. 19 and 20, which are practically the same as Bhavisyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV), chaps. 80 and 105 respectively. It is remarkable that in the other chapters of the Visnudharma in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya, the latter has been addressed as 'dvijaśrestha', 'brahman,' 'mahāmune' etc.; but in the said two chapters (19 and 20) he has been addressed as 'pārthiva', 'nṛpa,' 'manujesvara,' 'rajan' etc. This abrupt change in the personality of Dalbhya is due to the facts that in the Bhavisyottara, from which these chapters were derived, Kṛṣṇa speaks to king Yudhiṣṭhira, and that when chaps. 80 and 105 were incorporated into the Visnudharma to form chaps. 19 and 20 respectively, no attempt was made to adapt them to the interlocutors Pulastya and Dalbhya of the Visnudharma.

It will be interesting here to describe the circumstances which, according to the Viṣṇudharma, necessitated and inspired the composition of this Vaiṣṇava 'Śāstra' as early as in the third century A.D.

From a study of ancient Indian history we learn that during the few centuries from the time of Aśoka Maurya's reign, there was a great spread of Buddhism in and outside India. The Visnudharma amply testifies to the spread of this and other heretical faiths, the followers of which it calls 'Pāṣaṇḍins' (or 'Pāṣaṇḍas') and defines thus:

"śruti-smṛty-uditaṃ dharmaṃ varṇāśrama-vibhāgajam/ullaṅghya ye pravartante svecchayā kūṭa-yuktibhiḥ//vikarmābhiratā mūḍhā yukti-prāgalbhya-durmadāḥ/pāṣaṇḍinas te duḥśīlā narakārhā narādhamāḥ//"105

"Those, who fare wilfully by transgressing, with puzzling argumentation, the duties (dharma) arising from the distinction of castes and orders of life (and) declared by Sruti and Smrti, and who, being infatuated, set themselves to unlawful work and are maddened by

(their) skill in reasoning, are Pāṣaṇḍins, the worst of men, having reproachable conduct and deserving (residence in) hell."

We have already seen in the story of Mahāmoha how, according to the Viṣṇudharma, these Pāṣaṇḍins encouraged indiscipline in society by decrying Sruti and Smṛti and encouraging the violation of their prescriptions as regards the rites and duties of the different castes and orders of life and the performance of unlawful acts. In giving a dismal picture of the evils of the Kali age in chap. 105 the Viṣṇudharma repeats many verses of Mahābhārata III. 190¹⁰⁶ and adds:

"People will hanker after property earned by unfair means, and females (eager for union with males) will ardently wish (to imitate) the beauty and gestures of prostitutes.

"... People will forsake the Vedas and the twice-born (Brahmins) and direct their attention to other things.

"Then, being overpowered by Time, they will forsake Brahma and other gods who enjoy shares in the sacrificial offerings and are read of in the Vedas by the twice-born (people), and, being given to (heretical) dialectics, will create other deities.

for bath nor for (physical) purification.

"The minds of people will not be inlined to devotion for Visnu in the Kali age, after Kṛṣṇa, being characterised by blackness, comes down.

"During the first quarter (of this age) people will decry Hari, but at its end none will utter his name.

"If, during this Kali age, in which the earth will be crowded with many heretics, a virtuous person will utter the words 'I bow down to you, Kṛṣṇāya te namaḥ),

"the heretics, decrying the system of the four stages of life, will create delusion (of the mind) by means of (their) power of (rationalistic) argumentation and the rogues.

"Then this earth, turning heretical to a very great extent and (consequently) growing uncultured, will be made difficult (for residence) by the pseudo-ascetics.

"At that time the vile Sūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will not serve the twice-born people, nor will they practise their own dharma.

"Some will become Utkocas¹⁰⁷ (?), Saugatas, Mahāyānists, and the heretical Kāpilas and Bhikṣus,

"while other wicked Sūdras will turn Sākyas, Śrāvakas, Nirgranthas and Siddhaputras in the Kali age.

"Turning wandering mendicants the villainous Sūdras will undergo no (physical) purification, have crooked nature, and habitually live on food perpared by others.

"These and many others, as well as the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas etc. will turn heretics.

"These mean people will misappropriate state revenue, rob the householders, remain concealed by (assuming) the appearance and dress of sages, and subsist on trade.

"Being perverted by (heretical) reasoning (and) by compositions (made) in the language of Mlecchas, people in the Kali (age) will respect neither the twice-born (Brahmins) nor the Vedas.

"With their growing extremely wicked in this way, others (also) will turn wicked by following their path and moving about in a wrong way.

"Then people will utter unrefined speech, denounce the Vedic works, and make the world stray from the right path." 108

107 In ASB Ms No. 3506 (fol. 179b) this name has been given as 'Utkauca' (utkaucāḥ).

The relevant verses, as reconstructed from ASB Mss Nos. 1670 (fols. 255b-257a) and 3506 (fols. 179a-180a), are the following: anyāyopātta-vittesu karisyanti narāḥ spṛhām/

veśyā-lāvaṇya-bhāveṣu spṛhāṃ yoṣit kariṣyati//
narā veda-dvijāṃs tyaktvā bhaviṣyanty anyato-mukhāḥ/
yajña-bhāga-bhujo devā ye veda-paṭhitā dvijaiḥ/
brahmādyās tān parityajya narāḥ kāla-balātkṛtāḥ//
hetu-vāda-parā devān kariṣyanty aparāṃs tadā//

Regarding the state of Vaiṣṇavism and Kṛṣṇa-worship in those days the Viṣṇudharma further says in chap. 73:

"(Those) who, though ignorant, take themselves to be wise by following heretical dialectics and, with their knowledge screened by nescience (avidyā), consider a life dependent on Kṛṣṇa to be not worth living,

"and (also those) who take to misleading argumentation in refuting the statements in favour (of the authority) of the Vedas,—in their

heart Kesava never becomes a dear guest.

bahu maṃsyanti na snāṇaṃ nāpi śaucaṃ tadā narāḥ// na visņu-bhakti-pravaņam narāņām nṛpa mānasam/ bhavitā tu kalau prāpte kṛṣṇe kārṣṇyopalakṣite// vinindām prathame pāde kariṣyanti harer narāh/ yugānte tu harer nāma naiva kaścid grahisyati// bahu-pāṣaṇḍa-saṃkīrṇe jagaty asmin kalau yuge/ krṣṇāya te namas tatra sukṛtī yadi vakṣyati// hetu-vāda-balair moham kuhakaiś ca janais tadā/ pāṣaṇḍinaḥ kariṣyanti cāturāśramya-dūṣakāḥ// pāṣaṇḍa-bhūtam atyartham jagad etad asamskṛtam/ bhavisyati tadā bhūpa vṛthā-pravrajitotkoṭam// na tu dvijāti-śuśrūṣām na sva-dharmānupālanam/ kariṣyanti tadā śūdrāḥ pravrajyā-liṅgino 'dhamāḥ// utkocāh saugatāś caiva mahāyāna-ratās tathā/ bhavişyanty atha pāṣaṇḍāḥ kāpilā bhikṣavas tathā// śākyāḥ śrāvaka-nirgranthāḥ siddhaputrās tathāpare/ bhavisyanti durātmānah śūdrāh kali-yuge nṛpa / / niḥśaucā vakra-matayaḥ para-pākānna-bhojinaḥ/ bhavisyanti durātmānah śūdrāh pravrajitās tadā// ete cānye ca bahavah pāṣaṇḍāḥ puruṣarṣabha / brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā bhaviṣyanti tathāpare// rāja-śulka-harāḥ kṣudrā gṛhastha-parimoṣakāḥ/ muni-veśākṛti-cchannā vāṇijyam upajīvakāḥ/ na dvijān na kalau vedān pūjayisyanti mānavāh / / mleccha-bhāṣā-nibandhais tu hetu-vādair vikūlitāh// evam tesv atidustesu vimārga-parivartinah/ bhavisyanty apare dustās tesām mārgānuyāyinaḥ / / asamskṛtokti-vaktāro veda-śāstra-vinindakāh/ agad unmārga-kartāro bhaviṣyanti tadā narāḥ//

"There is no expiation for those wicked people who decry his (i. e. Kṛṣṇa's) activities by taking him to be a human being.

"Some (people) call him a god, some of poor intellect give him out to be a man, (while) others, being deluded by his Māyā, take Viṣṇu (to have been born) in the state of a lower animal" 100.

From the above description of the effects of the spread of the heresies in the Indian society of those days it is evident that the indefatigable efforts of the heretic dialecticians, especially Buddhist, helped the wide spread of the anti-vedic faiths, especially Buddhism, among all grades of people and encouraged the breach of social discipline as understood by the followers and supporters of the Vedic way of life. As a matter of fact, it was the irrefutable reasonings of the heretic dialecticians which popularised their faiths to such a great extent and made the people lose faith in Kṛṣṇa and other deities respected and worshipped by the followers of the Vedas and the Varṇāśrama-dharma. We have already seen how the heretical dialectics have been mentioned repeatedly in the Visnudharma with a feeling of awe and frustration. In a verse of chap. 105 it has been said that in the Kali age even a fool gives an irrefutable answer by taking to the (heretical) way of reasoning. 110 So, it is was clearly the wide spread of the heresies, especially Buddhism, which encouraged the composition of the present Visnudharma and similar other sectarian 'Sastras' of the Saivas, Sauras and others.

We have already seen how, by following the teachings of the Bhagavad-gītā, the present Viṣṇudharma advocates the practice of Yoga for the realisation of Viṣṇu-Brahma; and it can hardly be denied

heyām kṛṣṇāśrayām vṛṭtim manyante hetu-saṃśritāḥ/
avidyopahata-jñānā ye 'jñānā jñāna-māninaḥ//,
veda-vāda-virodhena kūṭa-yuktim upāśritāḥ/
ye keśavas taddhṛdaye na kadācit priyātithiḥ//
mānuṣaṃ taṃ manuṣyatve manyamānāḥ ku-buddhayaḥ/
karmāṇi ye 'sya nindanti na teṣāṃ niṣkṛtir nṛṭṇām//
kecid vadanti taṃ devaṃ manuṣyaṃ cālpa-medhasaḥ/,
tiryaktve cāpare viṣṇuṃ māyayā tasya mohitāḥ// (fol. 154b).

110 hetu-vādāśrito mūḍho dadāty uttaram akṣayam. —Fol. 259a.

that this advocacy was inspired to a great extent by the teachings of the heretical faiths, for which theistic Yoga was the most suitable antidote. Though prescribing this Yoga to all including women and Sūdras, the Visnudharma extols the Vedas and the Varnāśrama-dharma and tries hard to keep the people aloof from the influence of the Pasandas. It declares Stuti and Smrti to be the commands of the Bhagavat himself,111 regards the Purāṇa, the Mānava Dharma (-Sāstra), and the Vedas together with the Angas as authoritative by origin and consequently unquestionable, and says: "One should know that man to have derived his origin from a part of an Asura who bears hatred towards Govinda and decries the twice-born (Brahmins) and the Vedas"112. It tries to impress upon the people that one's caste depends wholly on one's actions in the previous births (chap. 57), that the due performance of one's caste-duties without any feeling of attachment, hatred, etc. destroys the previous actions causing rebirth, 113 and that it is the Vedas, the deities, the sacrifices and the twice-born (Brahmins), who, being eulogised, praised and worshipped with much respect, confer the highest bliss (param śreyah)'114. It speakes very highly of Brahmins as well as of various kinds of service115 rendered to them and glorifies them saying that they can reduce people to ashes, create Lokas and Lokapalas, and lead the aspirants to heaven, and that it was they who made the waters of oceans saline and undrinkable and whose fire of wrath still burns in the Dandaka forest (chap. 52). It encourages the cultivation of various personal virtues such as universal friendship, satisfaction, kindness, tolerance, regard for others' wives as mothers, and so on, and urges the avoidance of attachment, untruth, himsa and other vices, and especially of association and conversation with the Paṣaṇḍas not only during Visnu-worship and the observance of the Vaisnava

¹¹¹ For the relevant verse see foot-note 66 above,

¹¹² Chap. 3 (fol. 11b).

Chap. 42 (fol. 87a).

¹¹⁴ Chap. 33 (fol. 63b).

Such as rendering hospitality to Brahmins as guests, shampooing their feet, saving them at the sacrifice of one's own life, and so on.

Vratas but also on other occasions¹¹⁶. In case of conversation with these heretics it prescribes expiations, viz., citation of particular Vedic and Purāṇic verses, remembering of Acyuta, and looking at the sun, and in case of physical contact with them the expiation consists of all these acts as well as bath (chap. 25, fol. 42a-b). So, the ideal society aimed at by the Viṣṇudharma is Brāhmaṇical. According to this work a 'worthy son' (sat-putra) is one who is devoted to the gods and Brahmins, knows the Sāstras, and attains Nirvāṇa (chap. 30); and as regards feeding of Brahmins in a Srāddha ceremony it does not favour any discrimination between them but says that the squint-eyed, hunchbacked, poor, diseased and similar other Brahmins are to be mixed up with those who are versed in the Veda.¹¹⁷

As to the position of females in society the opinion expressed by the Viṣṇudharma is not always very encouraging. According to this work, women, as creatures, are inferior even to the Śūdras, for it says that by practising Yoga a female can become a Brahmin by passing successively through the states of Śūdras and others in her different births (chap. 98). It prescribes Vratas and worships to females but says that in undertaking these a virgin girl must seek the permission of her parents, and a married woman, of her husband. "A wife has no separate sacrifice, Śrāddha or fast. She attains her desires merely by serving her husband." In case her husband forsakes her, or dies, or, turning a heretic (pāṣaṇḍa), does not allow her to worship Viṣṇu, she is to worship her husband and remain faithful to him in body and mind." If she is a widow, she should remain chaste, give

116 See chaps. 3 (fol. 11b), 4 (fol. 16a), 5 (fol. 17a), 7 (fol. 20a), 8 (fol. 22b), 14 (fol. 26b), 15 (fol. 27b), 22 (fol. 36b), 73 (fol. 153a), and especially 25.

na brāhmaṇaṃ parikṣeta śrāddha-kāle hy upasthite/
sumahān parivādo hi brāhmaṇānāṃ parikṣaṇe//
kāṇāḥ kubjāś ca ṣaṇḍhāś ca daridrā vyādhitās tathā/,
sarve śrāddhe niyoktavyā miśritā veda-pāragaiḥ//
Chap. 52 (fol. 97a).

naiva tasyāḥ pṛthag yajñā na śrāddhaṃ nāpy upoṣitam/
bhartṛ-śuśrūṣaṇenaiva prāpnoti strī yathepsitam//
Chap. 22 (fols. 35b-36a).

¹¹⁹ Chap. 22 (fol. 36b).

libation of water to her deceased husband, worship Visnu daily by observing fast, receive guests, perform the Agnihotra rites without Mantra (agnihotram amantrakam), make gifts, and do other pious acts (chap. 22).

From what has been said above it is evident that the present Visnudharma is an interesting work and has to be valued for its religious matters and more particularly for its philosophical views. 120 It seems to be a compilation rather than an original work, and it is probable that it derived chapters and verses from more ancient works of the same type. Chap. 152 of the Bhavisyottara (i. e. Bhav. IV), which agrees remarkably with chap. 86 of the Visnudharma, is said in verse 5 to have been 'spoken out in ancient times by the Vārāha' (vārāhena purā proktām). Moreover, in some chapters of the Visnudharma the deity has been named much more frequently as Nārāyana or Visnu than as Kṛṣṇa, while in others the name 'Kṛṣṇa' or 'Vasudeva' is very common. From the facts that in chap. 1 of the Viṣṇudharma Śatānīka wants to hear 'discourses on Nārāyaṇa' (nārāyaṇa-kathā), that in the first two chapters of this work the name 'Kṛṣṇa' occurs very rarely, and that the Visnudharmottara, which, as we shall see below, was written by the Pancaratras, claims to be a part of the Visnudharma, it appears that in its origin the Visnudharma also was a Pāńcarātra work but was later on appropriated and recast by the Bhagavatas to its present form and character.

The text of the Viṣṇudharma, that we find now in Mss, does not agree completely with those used by the commentators and Nibandhawriters. A very large number of verses ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharma' in these works is not found in the present text of this work. For instance, none of the numerous verses of the 'Viṣṇudharma' quoted in Raghunandana's Smṛṭi-tattva, Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's Srāddha-kaumudī, Suddhi-kaumudī and Varṣa-kaumudī, Madanapāla's Madana-pārijāta, and Madhavācārya's Kālanirṇaya, occurs in the present Viṣṇudharma; of the 103 metrical lines quoted from this work in Gopālabhaṭṭa's Haribhaktivilāsa, only 37 are traceable in the present text of the same; and among the verses ascribed to the 'Viṣṇudharma'

in Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the number of those which are not traceable in the present Viṣṇudharma, is considerable. This large proportion of the untraceable verses indicates that a more extensive text of the Viṣṇudharma was once current in some parts of India.

As to the provenance of the present Viṣṇudharma it is very difficult to say anything definitely. From the facts that of the holy places named in chap. 36 almost all belong to Northern India, and a large number to its western part, and that the small river Devikā has been mentioned on two occasions (in chaps. 32 and 36) and considered as much sacred as the Gangā, Yamunā etc., it appears that the Viṣṇudharma was written in the north-western part of Northern India.

2. THE VISNUDHARMOTTARA122

This work, as we have it now, is an encyclopaedic work consisting of three Khandas and dealing not only with various stories, myths and legends but also with varied subjects, viz., cosmology and cosmogony, geography, astronomy and astrology, division of time, pacification of unfavourable planets and stars, omens and portents, genealogies

121 A list of these untraceable verses will be given in Appendix II in the final Volume of the present work.

The only printed edition of this work is that published by the Venkar. press, Bombay.

Being based on highly insufficient Ms material, this edition contains various defects, some of which are as follows:—

- (a) Besides printing mistakas, it has lacunâe in a large number of places.
- (b) One complete metrical line after Visnudh. I. 81. 4a is missing.
- (c) In Viṣṇudh. 1, 146 the description of the characteristics of bulls (vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa) is begun abruptly (from verse 41b) with the second half of a verse in which the description of bulls called 'samudra' (ṛṣabhaḥ ... samudrākhyaḥ) was given. The missing verses of this incomplete chapter are to be found in Mat. 207.

(d) A few lines after Visnudh. I. 175. 1 appear to be missing,

(e) Visnudh. I, chaps, 223 and 225 are incomplete, and chap. 224 is wanting.

It may be mentioned here that H. P. Shastri also found chaps. 223 and 224 incomplete (trayoviṃśa-caturviṃśādhyāyau khaṇḍitau) in the Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara described by him in his Notices, II, pp. 164-172.

(mainly of kings and sages), manners and customs, penances, results of actions, rules about vrata and śrāddha, description and praise of various kinds of donations, law and politics, science of war, anatomy, medicine, treatment of diseases of human beings and lower animals, cookery, manufacture of perfumes, horticulture, grammar, lexicography,

(f) Though in Visnudh. I. 226. 63b-64a Nādāyana proposes to mention the names of the 'thirty-two' Matrs created by Narasimha from his own body, he practically names twenty-four Matrs only. Hence a complete verse after Vișnudh. I. 226. 66a must have been lost. This verse occurs in the Matsya-p. (179. 69b-70a).

(g) One complete chapter on ahirbudhnya snana is wanting. This chapter is referred to in Viṣṇudh. II. 99. 81b (āhirbudhnyaṃ tathā snānaṃ godam uktam purā tava) and is found quoted, in its entirety, in Caturvarga-cintāmaņi,

II. ii. pp. 654-5.

For Mss of the Visnudharmottara, see

(i) Shastri, Notices, II, pp. 164-172 (No. 190.—In this Ms, the work is divided into three Kandas, of which the first two have exactly the same contents as those of the first two Khandas of the printed Visnudharmottara, but the last Kanda ends abruptly with chap. 120 of the third Khanda of the printed edition. Hence this Ms does not contain the complete text of the Visnudharmottara).

(ii) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 305, 308 and 326.

(iii) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 214. (This Ms has been described as follows: kāni trutita-patrāņi vihāya sampūrņam/ navīnā kāśmīrikā lipih),

(iv) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 150. (This Ms claims to be a part

of the Garuda-p.).

(v) Bühler, Report, pp. vi-vii.

(vi) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4669. (This is an incomplete Ms of the third 'Kāṇḍa' of the Viṣṇudharmottara. It consists of fols. 8-259, 261 and two more without number. Of its first seven folios, two are missing and the rest are mutilated. The arrangement of its chapters does not, in all cases, agree with that of the printed edition. It ends with a part of chap. 329 of the third Khanda of the printed edition).

(vii) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 92.

(viii) In his essay on the Visnudharmottara published in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 381-410, Bhüler says that he used Mss Nos. 89-91 of the Deccan College Collection of 1875-77. According to Bühler's description, the text of the Visnudharmottara, as preserved in these Mss, consists of three Kāndas, of which the first two appear to have the same contents as those of the first two Khandas of the printed edition, but the third 'is much shorter than metrics, rhetorics, dramaturgy, dancing, vocal and instrumental music, sculpture, painting, architecture, Vaisnava theology, and so on. As, due to want of space, it is not possible to give a complete summary of the contents of all its chapters, we note below the different topics dealt with in it, with the mention of some of the most striking points.

Khanda I.

Chap. 1.—Vajra's¹²³ request to some sages to speak on various kinds of 'Viṣṇu-dharma' or 'Vaiṣṇava dharma' (duties to Viṣṇu); and the latter's selection of Mārkaṇḍeya to do so. Mārkaṇḍeya's consent to comply with Vajra's request.

the other two and contains only 118 Adhyāyas'. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 382-3).

- (ix) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. i. pp. 1437-41, Nos. 2111-18. (All these Mss are incomplete, the first three consisting of 27 chapters each. No. 2111 is written in Nandi-nāgarī and has the colophon: śrī-garuḍa-purāṇe viṣṇudharmottare prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ).
- (x) There is yet another Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara in Bhau Dāji's Collection in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay). This Ms is written in Devanāgarī and was copied in Vikrama era 1925.

For Mss of Stotras, Vrata-kathās etc., claiming to belong to the Viṣṇudhar-mottara, see

- (i) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1309, No. 3605 (Aparājitā-stotra).
- (ii) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, pp. 912 and 913 (Aparājitā-stotra); II. ii. p. 1014 (Dvārakā-māhātmya).
- (iii) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 765-9, Nos. 4101-4 (Aparājitā-stotra; Vyādhi-praśamanāpāmārjanaka; and Apāmārjana-stotra), and p. 841 (extracts belonging to the Viṣṇudharmottara).
 - (iv) Mitra, Notices, II, p. 16, No. 550 (Dharmaghata-vrata-kathā).
- (v) Chakravarti, Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., p. 115 (Trailokya-vijayā-parājitā-stotra and Siva-rātri-vrata-kathā).
 - (vi) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 214 (Aparājitā-stotra).
 - (vii) P.P.S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7173-74, Nos. 10578-81.
- (viii) Dacca Univ. Mss of the Vaṃśa-kavaca, Aparājitā-stotra, Svapnā-dhyāya, and Apāmārjana-vidhi.
 - (ix) Weber, Berlin Cat., No. 1162 (Apāmārjana-stotra).

And so on.

123 King Vajra was the son of Aniruddha and the great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa,

Chaps. 2-3.—Description of the origin of the universe as well as of Brahmā, Rudra and others from Nārāyaṇa. Account of Viṣṇu's raising of the earth by assuming the form of a Boar.

Chaps. 4-5.—Description of the nether worlds (viz., Pātāla, Sutala etc.) and the different regions (viz., Varāha-loka, Kālāgnirudra-loka, Viṣṇu-loka, bhūrloka, bhuvarloka etc.), in which Viṣṇu remains with Lakṣmī by assuming different forms.

In chap. 4, verses 1-4 there is a description of the different measurements of space, viz., trasarenu, likṣā, rāja-sarṣapa, gaura-sarṣapa, sarṣapa, yava, aṅguli, śaṅku, hasta, dhanuḥ, krośa, gavyūti and yojana.

Chaps. 6-11.— Geography of the earth.—Names and description of its dvīpas. Names of its mountains, oceans etc. Position of mount Meru, and the names of the cities (of Indra, Vahni, Yama, Varuṇa and others) situated round it. Description of Jambu-dvīpa, with the mention of the names of its varṣas, mountains etc. Description of Bhārata-varṣa¹²⁴ (including Laṅkā)¹²⁵—the names of the tribes living in its central, eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern parts; the names of its

124 Visnudh. I. 8. 16-18.

lavaṇasyottare pārśve sāgarasya ca dakṣiṇe /
purī laṅkā saṃniviṣṭā yasyāṃ vai rāvaṇo hataḥ / /

viņudh. I. 9. 2-10—
pāńcālāḥ kuravo matsyā yaudheyāḥ savaṭaścarāḥ/
kuntayaḥ śūrasenāś ca madhyadeśa-janāḥ smṛtāḥ//
vṛṣadhvajāṅjanāḥ pannāḥ suhmā māgadha-cedayaḥ/
kāśayaś ca videhāś ca pūrvasyāṃ kośalās tathā//
kaliṅga-vaṅga-puṇḍr-āṅga-vaidarbhā mūlakās tathā/
vindhyānta-nilayāḥ proktāḥ pūrva-dakṣiṇataḥ smṛtāḥ//
pulindāśmaka-jīmūta-nararāṣṭra-nivāsinaḥ/
karṇāṭakā bhojakaṭā dakṣiṇāpatha-vāsinaḥ/
ambaṣṭhā draviḍā nāgāḥ kāmbojāḥ strīmukhāḥ śakāḥ/
ānantavāsinaś caiva jñeyā dakṣiṇa-paścime//
strī-rājyaṃ saindhavā mlecchā nāstikyā yavanās tathā/
paścimena ca vijñeyāḥ paṭumānauṣadhaiḥ saha//
māṇḍavyāś ca tuṣārāś ca mūlikāś ca mukhāḥ khaśāḥ/
māṇḍavyāś ca tuṣārāś ca mūlikāś ca mukhāḥ khaśāḥ/

seven principal mountains (kula-parvata) as well as of the principal rivers arising from them; the names of those chief rivers¹²⁷ which arose from the Himālaya and are regarded as specially sacred.

Chaps. 12-22.—Description of Kośala and Ayodhyā.

Names and accounts of the kings of the Solar dynasty from Ikṣvāku (son of Vaivasvata Manu) downwards.

Story of Sagara, whose sons were burnt to ashes by Kapila, a form of Vāsudeva. Story of Bhagīratha's bringing Gaṅgā¹²⁸ down to earth.

lampagās tālanāgāś ca matu gāndhārajāhutāḥ/ himavan-nilayā mlecchā hy udīcīm diśam āśritāḥ// trigarta-mīna-kaulūtā brahmaputrāḥ satīgaṇāḥ/ abhisārāś ca kāśmīrāś codak-pūrveṇa kīrtitāḥ//

Tay The names of these rivers are as follows:—Kauśikī, Gaṇḍakī, Lohitya, Dṛṣadvatī, Menā, Bāhudā, Mahānadī, Gomatī, Devikā, Vitastā, Candrabhāgā, Sarayū, Irāvatī, Vipāśā, Śatadru, Yamunā and Sarasvatī.

Of these rivers, the Kauśikī is said to be the beloved of Kauśika and is described as 'nimnagottamā', 'gajendra-bhinna-kūlā', and 'gaṅgā-tulyā ca puṇyataḥ'; the Bāhudā is said to have restored the severed arm of the sage Likhita; the Devikā is identified with the beloved wife of Śaṃkara; the Vitastā is called 'viṣṇu-loka-pradā' and 'agha-nāśinī'; the Candrabhāgā is described as 'caudra-loka-pradā'; the Irāvatī is called 'indrebha-sevita-taṭā' and 'indra-loka-pradāyinī'; the Vipāśā is said to be 'viśiṣṭa-pāśa-vicchede kuśalā'; and the Śatadru is described as 'sarva-pāpānāṃ vipākakāriṇī' and 'vaśiṣṭha-vidrutā'.

For description of all the above-mentioned rivers see Viṣṇudh. I. 11. 2-21. In this description, the Sarasvatī is called 'sapta-prakārā' and is said to consist of seven parts known by seven names, viz., Suprabhā (at Puṣkara), Kātarākṣī (at Naimiṣa), Viśālā (at Gayā), Mānasa-hradā (at Kośala), Sarasvatī (at Kurukṣetra), Ogha-nādā (at Gaṅgā-dvāra), and Suveṇu (on the Himācala).

It is to be noted that in these verses the word 'devi' has been used with respect to the following rivers:— Devikā, Vitastā, Irāvatī, Satadru and Sarasvatī.

In chap. 19, verses 18ff. it is said that Gangā, being let out from Siva's matted hair, first entered the Bindu-saras (which had been created by the drops of water of Gangā) and then divided herself into seven streams, of which three (viz., Hlādinī, Hrādinī and Plāvinī) flowed towards the east, three (viz., Sītā, Vaktra and Sindhu) rushed towards the west, and one (viz. Gangā) flowed towards the south by following the track shown by Bhagīratha.

Digressions: -

(i) Viṣṇu's killing of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who had originated from a drop of Brahmā's perspiration.—Chap. 15.

(ii) Story of Kuvalayāśva, who was named Dhundhumāra for killing the aquatic demon Dhundhu (son of Madhu and Kaitabha)

with the help of sage Uttanka.—Chap. 16.

(iii) Story of Jahnu, king of Kānyakubja, who drank up Gaṅgā, because the latter flooded his sacrificial hall in which preparations were made for the performance of a horse-sacrifice. Jahnu's letting Gaṅgā out through his ear.—Chap. 20.

(iv) Story of Vāmana (Trivikrama), who chastised Bāskali and ushered Gangā into the world. Presence of Gangā in different places

in different names and forms. 129

Chaps. 23-71.—Story of Visnu's birth as Bhārgava Rāma, his attainment of Kṣatriya characteristics, and his performance of various exploits, viz., his extermination of the Saimhikeyas as well as of the demons living in the nether world, and his killing of the Kṣatriyas

including Kārtavīryārjuna.

Stories of Nahuṣa's change into a snake; Indra's residence in a lotus-stalk in the Mānasa lake for getting rid of Brahma-hatyā arising from Vṛṭra-vadha; Viṣṇu's manifestation as Dattātreya; Vasiṣṭha's curse on Kārtavīryārjuna for burning his forest for pleasing Āditya; birth of Viśvāmitra, and the cause of his turning a Brahmin; Sūrya's offer of an umbrella and a pair of shoes to Reṇukā, wife of Jamadagni; churning of the ocean by gods and demons; Viṣṇu's beheading of Rāhu; and Bhārgava Rāma's meeting with Varuṇa in the latter's residence.

In connection with these stories, portents (utpāta) have been dealt with in chap. 37, bad dreams (duḥsvapna) in chap. 39, and evil omens (durnimitta) in chap. 46.

Chaps. 52-65 constitute a separate section called 'Saṃkara-gītā,' in which Saṃkara, being requested by Bhārgava Rāma, glorifies Nārā-

Gangā is said to sanctify the Daradas, Jahudas, Kāśmīras, Nairasas, Ābhīras, Kalāpa-grāmakas, Tāmraliptakas, Vangas, Pundras and others.—Chap. 21, verses 17-24.

yaṇa (i.e. Viṣṇu) as Para Brahma and the source of the universe, admits that he himself meditates on Nārāyaṇa, and then speaks on the following topics:—Viṣṇu's manifestation as Varāha, Narasiṃha and Vāmana; Viṣṇu's various vibhūtis; praise of devotion (bhakti) to Viṣṇu; enumeration of actions¹³⁰ which please Keśava; results of worshipping Viṣṇu by observing fast on the different days (from Sunday to Saturday) of the week, on different Tithis (from Pratipad to Pañcadaśī) and under different Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī); worship of Viṣṇu with the due observance of 'pañca-kāla,' viz., abhigamana-kāla, upādāna-kāla, ijyā-kāla, svādhyāya-kāla and yoga-kāla.¹³¹

Chaps. 72-73.—Varuṇa's speech to Bhārgava Rāma on the following topics:—Division of time according to saura, cāndra, sāvana and nākṣatra māna; measurement of time—duration of a nimeṣa, truṭi, prāṇa, vināḍikā, nāḍikā, muhūrta, ahorātra, pakṣa, māsa, ayana, saṃvatsara, yuga, kalpa etc.; duration of the day and night of the Pitṛs; longevity of Brahmā; condition of dharma etc. during the four yugas, especially in the Kali-yuga.

Chap. 74.—Condition of Bhārata-varṣa at the end of each yuga; and Viṣṇu's appearance in human forms (such as those of Pramati, Bhīmaratha, Vāsudeva-and-Arjuna, and Kalkin) for relieving the earth of her burden.

This chapter gives us information regarding the literary activity of Vālmīki and Vyāsa at the ends of Tretā and Dvāpara respectively. It is said that at the end of the Dvāpara-yuga Viṣṇu would be born as Vyāsa, divide the original Veda into four, viz., Rg-veda, Sāma-veda, Ātharvaṇa and Yajur-veda, and write Vākovākya, Purāṇa and Bhārata, and that at the end of the Tretā-yuga Viṣṇu would be born as Vālmīki and write the 'Rāmākhyāna'. (See verses 22ff.).

Chaps. 75-77.—Condition of the world at the ends of Manvantaras, Kalpas and Mahākalpas.

Chaps. 78-79.—Entrance of Mārkandeya and Brahmā into the

¹³⁰ Such as non-giving of Visnu-naivedya or Visnu-nirmalya to non-Vaisnavas; showing respect to all deities and faiths; honouring the Pancaratras; and so on.—Chap. 58

¹³¹ For details see chaps. 61-65,

body of Visnu, and their experience at the close of a Manvantara and a Kalpa respectively.

Chap. 80.—Measurement of time beginning from the origin of Brahmā. Duration of the periods of reign of Vajra and Parīkṣit.

Chap. 81.—Names of fourteen Manus. Difference between the

Manvantaras and Kalpas. Chaps. 82-105.—On astrology and astronomy.—Different kinds of years, and their characteristics and results; names of deities dominating the different seasons, months, planets, stars, tithis and muhūrtas; names and description of karanas (viz., bava, balava, kaulava etc.), and the names of their presiding deities; description of horā, kulika-velā and lagna; nature of the influence of planets and stars on different countries under different circumstances; long and detailed description of the method of performing graha-yajña (which consists of prāk-tantra and uttara-tantra); relative position of the planets and stars.

Chap. 106.—Stories of the birth of Dhruva and the different Planets. 132

Chap. 107.—Brahma's creation of gods, demons, sages, Pitrs and others, as well as of planets, birds, snakes etc.

Dakṣa's descendants (including Satī, who is said to have forsaken

her body and been reborn as Umā).

Chaps. 108-109.—Dhruva's descendants including Vena¹³³ and Prthu, whose stories have been given at length. Daksa's rebirth as the son of Pracetas, and his creation by sexual intercourse.

Chaps. 110-118.—Descendants of Bhrgu, Angiras, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Parasara and other sages. Origin of gotras and pravaras. Restriction as regards marriage among them.

Digression: -Story of Nimi and Vasistha's mutual curse, and the latter's birth as the son of Mitra and Varuna.—Chap. 117.

Chaps, 119-121.—Descendants of Dharma and Kasyapa.

132 For the peculiar stories of the birth of Bhauma, Budha and Sukra, see verses 34-51 and 54-60.

133 Following the Lokāyatikas Veņa says: yāvaj-jīvam sukham jīven nāsti mṛtyor agocaram/, bhasmibhūtasya śāntasya punar āgamanam kutah//, Visnudh. I. 108. 18-19. Chaps. 122-8.—Story of Kṛṣṇa's killing of Kālanemi. Viṣṇu's manifestation as Varāha. Birth of Maruts. Creation of Apsarases, viz., Tilottamā, Ahalyā, Urvaśī and others.

Chaps. 129-137.—Story of Purūravas and Urvasī.—The latter's origin from Nārāyaṇa's thighs; Tumburu's curse on her; her love for and residence with Purūravas (of Pratisthāna)¹³⁴ on certain conditions; Urvasī's departure, and Purūravas's vain enquiry for her to beasts and birds; Nārada's request to Urvasī to pass one night with the king; Urvasī's meeting with Purūravas in a lake in Kurukṣetra; and so on.

[Though based on its Vedic and Purānic versions, this story has innovations and betrays the influence of Kālidāsa's Vikramorvasīya.]

Cause and praise of performing śrāddha on the Amāvāsyā Tithi. (Chap. 137, verses 29ff.).

Chap. 138.—Names and classification of Pitrs; and the effect of offering śrāddha to them.

Chap. 139.—The custom of offering śrāddha—first introduced on the Varāha-parvata by Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.

Chaps. 140-144.—Performance of śrāddha.—Detailed description of its procedure; persons entitled to offer śrāddha under different circumstances; selection of proper place; different kinds of articles (including meat of particular animals) to be offered to the Pitṛs; proper time and occasions for the performance of śrāddha; persons (viz., vārdhuṣika, cikitsaka and others) who do not deserve to be invited in śrāddha ceremonies; persons who are 'pankti-pāvana'; results of

134 For mention of Pratisthana see Visnudh. I, 130, 21; 131. 12; and

triśańku varjayed deśam sarvam dvādaśa-yojanam/ uttarena patangasya dakṣinena ca kaikaṭam// deśas traiśańkavo nāma vivarjyaḥ śrāddha-karmaṇi/, kāraskarāḥ kalingāś ca sindhor uttaram eva ca//, cāturvarnya-vihīnāś ca ye ca deśā narādhipa/, anyeṣv api ca deśeṣu tad-deśa-jana-darśanam//,

Visnudh, I. 141. 2-4.

136 Such as those who have studied any of the four Vedas, Dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas, Itihāsa, 'sottara Viṣṇudharma', or grammar; those who know Jyotiṣa

performing śrāddha at selected places (viz., Gayā, Puṣkara, Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Vārāṇasī, Prabhāsa and Kurukṣetra; banks of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Narmadā; mountains such as Amarāntika-parvata, Varāha-paravata and Himavat; and so on).

Chap. 145.—Pitṛ-gāthās. Method of observing the Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā (as described by Pulastya to Dālbhya).

Chap. 146.—Ways of release from rebirths. Characteristics of bulls (vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa) as mentioned by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira.

[This chapter refers to the contents of the Santi and Anusasana Parvans of the Mahabharata, and to the Dharmasastras of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Parasara, Atri, Sankha, Gargya, Likhita, Yama, Javali and many others.]

Chap. 147.—Procedure and praise of dedication of bulls (vṛṣotsarga) to the Pitṛs.

Chaps. 148-156.—Purūravas's penance and worship of Viṣṇu on the Dvādaśī Tithis in the Himālaya in his previous birth as a king of Madra, his performance of the Rūpa-satra-vrata according to the method described by Atri, and his consequent attainment of uncommon physical beauty through Viṣṇu's favour.

Chaps. 157-161.—Description of various kinds of Dvādaśī-vratas, viz., Rājya-prada-dvādaśī-vrata, Kāma-dvādaśī-vrata, Šukla-pakṣa-dvādaśī-vrata, and Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata (in all of which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped.)

Chap. 162.—Praise of the Sravana-dvādaśī-vrata by means of a story of a merchant who strayed into a forest in Dāśeraka and met a group of spirits (preta), one of whom told him that he had been a merchant of Sākala and that, as a result of his observance of the Sravana-dvādaśī-vrata and giving food to Brahmins on this occasion at the confluence of the rivers Tauṣī and Candrabhāgā, he used to have a regular supply of food and water even after his death.

In this chapter, the Candrabhaga is described as a part of the

or Ayurveda but do not earn their livelihood with these; and so on.—Chap.
143, verses 12-19.

Gaṅgā, 137 and the Tauṣī is called 'arka-nandinī' (daughter of the Sun), 138 and the meeting places of the following rivers are said to be highly sacred:—(a) Gaṅgā and Sarayū, (b) Gaṅgā and Soṇa, (c) Gaṅgā and Ikṣumatī, (d) Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (e) Gomatī and Sarayū, (f) Kauśikī and Gaṇḍakī, (g) Vipāśā and Devahradā, (h) Vipāśā and Satadru, (i) Sindhu and Irāvatī, (j) Candrabhāgā and Vitastā, and (k) Sindhu and Vitastā.—Verses 61-65.

Chaps. 163-164.—Description of the Tila-dvādaśī-vrata (which is Vaisṇava).

Praise of this Vrata by means of the story of Nayanasundarī, wife of king Caṇḍavega of Magadha, who, in her previous birth in a country watered by the river Vitastā, performed the Tila-dvādaśīvrata on the bank of this river and consequently attained royalty.

In Chap. 164, verses 23-26 the Vitastā has been praised as a highly sacred river and identified with Umā, the beloved wife of Hara.

Chap. 165.—Method and praise of muttering the Gāyatrī; and the cause and efficacy of its use in various kinds of Vaiṣṇava homa (viz., lakṣa-homa, koṭi-homa etc.) and in abhicāra.

[For the method of using Gāyatrī in abhicāra and the restrictions under which it is to be employed for this purpose, see verses 55-67.]

Chaps. 166-7.—The method and result of dipa-dana in Visnutemples and other places. (The use of animal-fat and of blue or red wicks in lamps is strictly prohibited.—Verses 31 and 35).

Story of Lalitikā (or Lalitā), daughter of king Citraratha of Vidarbha and wife of the king of Kāśi, who always kept herself engaged in dīpa-dāna and who, in her previous birth as a female mouse, chanced to cause an extinguishing lamp to continue to burn in a Viṣṇu-temple constructed by Maitreya (the Brahmin minister of the king of Sauvīra) at Nṛṣiṃha-tīrtha on the bank of the river

137-138 candrabhāgā saric-chreṣṭhā yatra sītāmalodakā/
mahādeva-jaṭājūṭe gaṅgā nipatitā purā//
candreṇa bhāgato nyastā candrabhāgā smṛtā tataḥ/
tat-kāla-tapta-salilā tauṣī tatrārka-nandinī//
Viṣṇudh, I. 162. 34-35.

Devikā in Madra and was consequently born and married in royal families.

In chap. 167, verses 15-18 it is said that, for the good of mankind, Brahmins caused Umā, wife of Hara, to come down to the earth in the form of the river Devikā.

Chap. 168.—Praise of Visnu-worship with wild flowers, fruits etc. by poor people.

Chaps. 169-170.—Results of sweeping a Visnu-temple and besmearing it with cow-dung.

Story of a destitute Sūdra and his wife, who felt a strong desire for royal fortune at the sight of Citravāhana, king of Sauvīra, and were reborn as Māndhātṛ (son of Yuvanāśva and king of Ayodhyā) and Prabhāvatī (daughter of Bhīmavega, king of Kāśi) respectively as a result of besmearing, with cow-dung, a Viṣṇu-temple which was situated on the bank of the Sindhu and in which an image of Varāha was established by sages of old. Māndhātṛ's conquest of the world, and his devotion to Viṣṇu.

[The river Sindhu has been praised in chap. 170, verses 4ff.].

Chaps. 171-172.—Being questioned by Vajra as to how this Māndhātṛ could be killed by Lavaṇa with the śūla of Maheśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya says that such an incident became possible simply because the energy of Viṣṇu (vaiṣṇavaṃ tejaḥ) resorted to the tip of Śiva's śūla.

Mārkandeya's description and praise of 'vaiṣṇava-tejas', without which, Mārkandeya says, even Brahmā and Siva cannot live and which cannot be comprehended without bhakti. Mārkandeya adds that it is Viṣṇu who is the single eternal Being (avināśi tad evaikaṃ) known by different names such as Sadāśiva, Vāsudeva, Kāla, Daiva, Svabhāva, Puruṣa, Praṇava etc. and who, though himself eternal, formless, omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, manifests himself as Varāha etc. for accomplishing various objects but is not bound by his actions.

Description of kings of the Treta-yuga.—It is said that these kings could cleanse their faces with their own tongues; each of them had 68 teeth and possessed seven gems (sapta ratnāni), viz., hasti-ratna, aśva-ratna, ratha-ratna, bhāryā-ratna, āyudha-ratna, maṇi-ratna and nidhi-ratna; their movement was not obstructed in the nether world,

the sky, the mountains and the sea; and so on.—Chap. 172, verses 37-46.

Chaps. 173-174.—Description of the Ananta-vrata (by performing which Yuvanāśva and Kṛtavīrya had Māndhātṛ and Kārtavīryārjuna respectively as sons) and Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata (in which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped for one year from Kārttika).

[In chaps. 175-191 Mārkaṇḍeya reports, in connection with Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata, what Śāmbarāyaṇī said to Indra.]

Chaps. 175-189.—Accounts of the past, present and future Manvantaras, with the mention of Viṣṇu's killing of the foes of the respective Indras during these Manvantaras by assuming different forms such as those of Matsya, Kūrma, Haṃsa, Aśva, Nṛ-varāha, Mayūra etc.

Chap. 190 —Eternity of Viṣṇu; and his innumerable manifestations in different Manvantaras, viz., Varāha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Narasiṃha, Matsya, Kūrma, Haṃsa, Nṛ-varāha, Rāma (Bhārgava), Rāma, Māndhātṛ, Pṛthu, Kārtavīryārjuna and others.

Chap. 191.—Sāmbarāyaṇī's statement that it was by observing the Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata that she was able to attain such an extremely long life and residence in heaven.

Chaps. 192-194 .- Praise of Visnu-stuti.

Story of the transformation of the Gandharvas Hāhā and Hūhū into an elephant and a crocodile respectively as a result of Devala's curse, because these Gandharvas disrespected Devala by taking him to be ignorant of music.

Fight between the elephant and the crocodile; and the former's eulogy of Viṣṇu, who consequently saved the elephant by killing the crocodile and restored both the animals to their former states.

[This story is called 'gajendra-mokṣaṇa'. In chap. 194, verses 58 ff. Gaṅgā, Naimiṣāraṇya, Prayāga, Brahma-tīrtha and Daṇḍakāraṇya have been praised.]

Chap. 195.—Method of self-protection by means of the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra, which Brahmā discovered for Saṃkara's safety when the latter destroyed Tripura.

Chap. 196.—Protection of others from various kinds of diseases

and calamities by means of the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra and other Vaiṣṇava stotras and mantras (especially those of Narasiṃha).

Chaps. 197-198.—Origin of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas and Yātudhānas; and the names of their descendants (including Heti, Praheti, Rāvaṇa, Puloman and others).

Chap. 199.—Story of the birth of Cyavana and his reducing Puloman to ashes with an angry glance when Cyavana's mother Pulomā was being abducted by this Rākṣasa.

Chap. 200.—Birth of the Raksasa named Lavana, and his death

at the hand of Satrughna.

Chaps. 201-269.—Rāma's order to Bharata to chastise the impious (adharma-nirata) Gandharvas living on both banks of the Sindhu; and Bharata's consequent march against, and killing of, these Gandharvas including Sailūṣa, and sending the rest to the Himālaya.

Bharata's march against the Gandharvas has been described ela-

borately in chaps. 202-209.

According to chap. 203 Rāma sent with Bharata a retinue consisting of actors, musicians, dancing girls, public women, merchants (or contractors), poison-doctors, physicians, surgeons. dentists (dantakārāh, dantopajīvinah), engineers, weavers, leather-workers, fishermen, tailors, scribes, astrologers, manufacturers of weapons, washermen, painters etc. 140

During his march Bharata is said to have seen the following rivers and places: —Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sannīti (a holy place in Kurukṣetra), Amarakaṇṭaka, Śatadru (also called Gaurī), Vipāśā, Irāvatī, Devikā, Candrabhāgā, Vitastā, Sudāmā (a river) and Rājagṛha (capital of

Kekaya).—Chaps. 206-207.

In chap. 207 the holy place Sannīti and the rivers Yamunā, Satadru, Vipāśā, Irāvatī, Devikā, Candrabhāgā and Vitastā have been specially glorified as being highly sacred; regarding Sannīti it has been said that here Dadhīca called together all the holy places and rivers on earth before giving up his life for the sake of Indra and that thence-

viṣa-vaidyāḥ śalya-vaidyās tathā kāya-cikitsakāḥ//
—Chap. 203, verse 9a.

¹⁴⁰ This list seems to have been influenced by Rāmāyaṇa II. 83. 12ff.

forward all the gods and tīrthas used to visit this place every month; the reasons for the names 'Satadru' and 'Vipāśā' have been stated; and the rivers Satadru and Devikā have been identified with Umā, the beloved wife of Hara.

Chap. 208 contains description of the hurry and eagerness of women of Rajagrha to see Bharata when he was entering the city.

In chaps. 212-247 Nādāyana advises Sailūṣa not to declare war against Bharata but to repair peacefully to the Himālaya, and relates the following stories:—

- (1) Agastya's drinking of the waters of the ocean for helping Indra to kill the demons who had taken shelter in it after Vṛṭra's death; his lowering of the Vindhya which had covered the paths of the sun and the moon; his killing of Vātāpin by thoroughly digesting him; and his furnishing the bows of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with invincible 'vaiṣṇava-tejas.'—Chap. 213.
- (2) Viṣṇu's war with and killing of the demon Mālin of Laṅkā, —a story which had been narrated to Rāma by Agastya.—Chaps. 214-215.

The following rivers are said to have joined Viṣṇu in his march against Mālin:—Gaṅgā, Kālindī, Sarayū, Gomatī, Godāvatī, Sarasvatī, Satadru, Vipāśā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvatī, Sindhu, Vitastā, Devikā, Gaṇḍakī, Kāverī, Hiraṇvatī, Ikṣumatī, Parṇāśā, Kauśikī, Vedasmṛti, Narmadā, Sītā, Hrādinī, Pāvanī, Lauhityā, Sindhu, Cakṣu, Sītā, Gautamī, Dṛṣadvatī, and 'others.'—Chap. 215, verses 43-52.

(3) Story of Rāvaṇa and his exploits and death.—Birth of Kuvera from Devavarṇinī by Viśravas, and his residence at Laṅkā which was situated on the mountain Trikūṭa. Birth of Daśagrīva, Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa and Sūrpaṇakhā from Kaikasī by Viśravas, their penance at Gokarṇa, and their receipt of boons from Brahmā; Rāvaṇa's leadership of those Rākṣasas who had fled to Pātāla after Mālin's death, his wresting of Laṅkā from Kuvera, and his world-conquest. Rāvaṇa's attempt to molest Vedavatī, 141 daughter of Kuśadhvaja, and the latter's entrance into fire with the threat that she would be born again as an

¹⁴¹ For the story of Vedavatī, see chap. 221, verses 17ff. This story is based on Rāmāyaṇa VII, 17.

'ayonija' being for bringing about his destruction; birth of Vedavatī as Sītā; and the incidents in her life (including her entrance into the nether world). Rāvaṇa's taking away of the chariot called Puṣpaka from Kuvera, and his sad experience in Kailāsa (where he was cursed by Nandin that monkeys would bring about his destruction); his victory over the gods; his conquest of Pātāla; and his experience at Kiṣkindhyā (where there was a conflict between Bālin and Sugrīva). Rāvaṇa's meeting with Bali, the former's inability to remove one of the ear-rings which Bali inherited from Hiraṇyakaśipu, and Bali's praise of Viṣṇu who had killed Hiraṇyakaśipu; Rāvaṇa's meeting with Viṣṇu, in whose body he saw all the gods and the whole universe and who told him that he would be born as a human being and kill Rāvaṇa.—Chaps. 219-223 and 238-239.

- (4) Siva's eulogy of Vināyaka, and his burning of Tripura with an arrow, the tip of which was occupied by Viṣṇu.—Chaps. 224(?)¹⁴²-225.
- (5) Siva's killing of the demon Andhaka with the help of the Mātṛs created by himself as well as by Viṣṇu and Narasiṃha whom Siva had eulogised for help.—Chap. 226. (This chapter contains the names of a large number of Mātṛs including Kālī and Mahākālī).
- (6) Birth of Ṣaḍānana on the mountain Śveta; his boons to the Kṛttikās to be worshipped with himself at a time when the moon would remain with the Kṛttikās, and to Gaṅgā to be worshipped on the Vaiśākha-śukla-tṛtīyā (which is called Akṣaya-tṛtīyā); Indra's creation of a large number of highly pernicious beings called Grahas, viz., gods, Pitṛs, demons, Rākṣasas, evil spirits, Nāgas etc., for doing harm to Ṣaḍānana's life; Ṣaḍānana's creation of a far larger number of similar Grahas named Skanda, Viśākha etc. to counteract the influence of those created by Indra, and his prescription of particular duties to these Grahas; Indra's praise of Skanda and his worship; Siva's appointment of Skanda as the general of gods; and Skanda's killing of the demon Mahiṣa and others.—Chaps. 228-230 and 233.

¹⁴² In the printed ed., chaps. 223 and 225 are incomplete and chap. 224 is wanting.

- (7) Nārāyaṇa's saving of Yajña from the hand of Siva.— Chap. 234.
- (8) Destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice by Vīrabhadra and Bhadrakālī born of Siva and Pārvatī respectively, because Dakṣa refused to give to Siva a share of the sacrificial offerings; Dakṣa's eulogy of Siva at Bhadra-karṇeśvara according to Vīrabhadra's advice; Siva's boon to Dakṣa.—Chap. 235.

(In this chapter the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Jāhnavī at Bhadrakarņeśvara as well as the five holy places—'tīrtha-pañcaka', viz., Gaṅgādvāra, Kuśāvarta, Bilvaka, Nīlaparvata and Kanakhala, have been highly praised by Siva, Mahākālī has been eulogised and described as 'aṣṭādaśa-bhujā', 'śūla-mudgara-dhāriṇī', 'kamaṇḍalu-dharā', 'pītakauśeya-vasanā', and 'nīlotpala-dala-śyāmā', and her worship has been prescribed on the Sukla-navamī).

- (9) Story of sage Sveta, who used to worship a Siva-linga and whom Siva saved from the hands of Yama by reducing him to ashes, because Yama refused to wait till Sveta could finish his worship of Siva. Description of Viṣṇu-kavaca, with which Siva protected himself against Yama.—Chaps. 236-237.
- (10) Satrughna's fight with and killing of the Rākṣasa named Lavaṇa who lived at Madhuvana.—Chaps. 240-247.

Chap. 227 contains the names of herbs, food meterials etc. with which the enraged Mātṛs can be pacified.

Chaps. 231-232 deal with the following topics: —Various kinds of actions which bring people under the influence of the Grahas created by Indra and Ṣaḍānana; causes which encourage these Grahas to exert their influence; 143 symptoms of persons influenced by different kinds of Grahas; and treatment of such persons by means of herbs, mantras etc.

In chaps. 248-253 Nāḍāyana further speaks to Sailūṣa on the following topics:—

Beasts and birds descended from Pulaha.—Chap. 248.

Brahma's appointment of kings over herbs, stars, water, gods,

¹⁴³ For these causes see chap, 231, verses 12b-14a,

Yakṣas, Daityas, Dānavas, Piśācas etc.; coronation of Indra.—Chaps. 249-250.

Origin of the eight elephants named Airāvaṇa, Padma, Puṣpadanta etc. (which are called quarter-elephants—dig-gajāḥ), and the classification of their descendants.

Location of the eight forests in which the eight quarter-elephants live with their descendants. Characteristics of elephants living in these forests.—Chap. 251.

Monkeys descended from Pulaha.—Chap. 252.

Description of the fight between the elephants and monkeys at Antarvedī. Indra's severing of the wings of elephants and sending them down to earth to serve Lomapāda, king of Anga. Lomapāda's authorship of a Sūtra-work on medical treatment of elephants.—Chap. 253.

Chaps. 254-257.—Sailūṣa's determination to wage war against Bharata in spite of Nāḍāyana's advice to the contrary. Inability of the Gandharvas, sent by Sailūṣa, to create the least disturbance in

Ayodhyā, Rājagṛha and Bharata's camp.

Description of love-lorn women in Ayodhyā.

Chaps. 258-268.—Description of the war between Bharata and Sailūṣa,—a war which resulted in the death of the latter. Description of the battle-field.

Chap. 269.—Bharata's performance of Viṣṇu's śayanotsava and jāgaraṇotsava for five days each from Āṣāḍha-śuklaikādaśī and Kārttika-śuklaikādaśī respectively; his construction, for his sons Puṣkara and Takṣa, of two cities named Puṣkarāvatī and Takṣaśilā on both banks of the Sindhu; his return to Ayodhyā and worship of Viṣṇu.

Khanda II

[This Khanda deals with the duties of kings-raja-dharma.]

Chap. 1.—Vajra praises Mārkandeya for narrating, with various other topics, the story of Bharata's successful war against the Gandharvas and requests him to describe what Bhārgava Rāma heard from Varuna after reaching the latter's region. Mārkandeya says that Rāma Jāmadagnya first heard from Varuna about measurement of

time and then asked him to speak on the duties of kings (rāja-dharma), that Varuṇa referred Bhārgava Rāma to his own son Puṣkara, who, Varuṇa said, had heard about rāja-dharma from Indra, and that, in compliance with Varuṇa'a request, Puṣkara took Bhārgava Rāma to his own residence.

Chaps. 2-7.—Being requested by Bhārgava Rāma, Puṣkara spoke on the following topics:—

Necessity of a pious and dutiful king for the establishment of law and order in the country; various qualifications (such as submission to the opinions of ministers and the state-astrologer) that a king must possess; selection, to be made by the king's predecessors as well as by the most prominent people of the state, of a worthy member of the royal family for the throne;144 the king's oath; appointment of a qualified Brahmin as state-astrologer (samvatsara)—the first duty of the king; qualifications of the state-astrologer, and the king's submission to him; selection of ministers, priest (purohita) and chief queen in accordance with the instructions of the state-astrologer; the king's coronation to be performed by the state-astrologer; qualifications of the Purohita (who is to be an Atharvan versed in the Yajur-veda and the Atharva-veda and to have thorough knowledge of the five kalpas, viz., naksatra-kalpa, vaitāna-kalpa, samhitā-kalpa, angirah-kalpa and śānti-kalpa); necessity of Purohita for peace and prosperity of the king; qualifications of ministers, who are to be Brahmins versed in the Vedas and the Nīti-śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas;145 qualifications to be possessed by the chief queen.

Chaps. 8-9-Auspicious signs of men and women.

Chaps. 10-11.—Characteristic signs of good and bad elephants and horses.

Chaps. 12-14.—Making of a chowry, an umbrella and a holy seat (bhadrāsana) for the king.

Chap. 15.—Names and characteristics of jewels to be worn by the king.

¹⁴⁴ See chap. 3, verse 8, and chap. 4, verse 1.

¹⁴⁵ See chap. 6, verse 2.

Chaps. 16-17.—Construction of bows with metals (such as gold, silver, copper and steel), horns (of buffaloes, śarabhas and other beasts), bamboo, wood etc. Construction of arrows, and of swords with steel of different countries, viz., Vanga, Śūrpāraka, Videha, Anga etc. Characteristics of swords manufactured in these countries.

Story of the origin of 'khadga' (sword) from a divine being named Nandaka and of 'loba' (steel) from the different limbs of a demon named Loha.

[In connection with the selection of materials for the construction of bows, Puskara says:

vamsanam api tac chrestam yatra ganga mahanadi/ salanam api tac chrestam gomati yatra bhargava/ vitasta-kulajam śrestham vetasinam tathaiva ca//

Chap. 16, verses 14-15a.

The countries manufacturing the best arrows are mentioned in the following lines:

śarāḥ kirātajāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ kāńcīpura-samīpataḥ/ tebhyo'pi te śreṣṭhatamāḥ skanda-janma-samīpataḥ// Chap. 16, verses 20b-21a.

The following verses name the countries producing steel of different qualities for the manufacture of swords:—

loham pradhānam khadgārthe prasastam tad visesataḥ/kaṭīkadūra-ṛṣīkam vaṅge śūrpārakeṣu ca//videheṣu tathāṅgeṣu madhyamam grāmacediṣu/sahagrāmeṣu nīpeṣu tathā kālañjare 'pi ca//

Chap. 17, verses 21b-23a.]

Chaps. 18-23.—On coronation.—Proper time for coronation; performance of Purandara-Sānti; characteristics of fire in which homas are to be performed; procedure of coronation; mantras to be used on this occasion,—all these mantras being Purānic in character and containing invocations to the gods, goddesses (including Durgā mounted on a lion), Dik-pālas, Prajāpatis, Pitṛs, Mātṛs, wives of Dharma, Kaśyapa and others, Nakṣatras, Planets, Manus, Rudras (including Dhūmaketu, Bharata and Kāpāli), Sādhyas, Ādityas, Maruts, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Daityas, Dānavas, Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Piśācas, Suparṇas and others.

[In some of the mantras given in chap. 22, there is mention of

- (i) Rg-veda, Yajur-deda, Sāma-veda, Atharva-veda, Itihāsa, Dhanurveda, Gandharva-veda, Āyurveda, the six Aṅgas (viz., śikṣā, kalpa etc.), Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñca-rātra, and Pāśupata (chap. 22, verses 129-134);
- (ii) a large number of holy places, rivers, lakes etc., the majority of which belongs to the western and north-western parts of Northern India (chap. 22, verses 142-184).

It is to be noted that the names of the rivers include the following :—Sindhu (mentioned thrice), Sarasvatī, Satadru, Gomatī (mentioned twice), Sarayū, Vipāśā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvatī, Vitastā, Devikā (mentioned twice) and Ikṣumatī.

Kauśikī and Karatoyā also have been mentioned.] Praise of *tīrthas*.

Chaps. 24-25.—The first and the most important duty of a newly crowned king.—Selection of qualified persons for the posts of generals (who should be Brahmins or Kṣatriyas), messengers (who should know the local dialects), body-guards, tāmbūla-dhārin, sandhi-vigrahaka, khadga-dhārin, kośa-dhārin, sārathi, sūdādhyakṣa, cooks, judge, scribe (lekhaka), gate-keeper, gajādhyakṣa, aśvādhyakṣa, durgādhyakṣa etc. Conduct of these officers towards the king.

Chaps. 26-27.—Selection of proper place for residence; construction of forts (viz., dhanva-durga, mahī-durga, nara-durga, vārkṣa-durga, ambu-durga and giri-durga) and furnishing these with houses, means of protection, herbs etc.

Chaps. 28-32.—Protection of the king from poison etc. Science of house-building (vāstu-vidyā). Directions about gardening and plantation. Building of temples, and making provisions for the worship of different deities. Praise of rendering service and making gifts to Brahmins; and glorification of Brahmins as superior to, and more powerful than, gods.

Chaps. 33-41.—On the conduct and duties of women.—

Praise of chaste women, and the protection to be given to them by the state.

Duties of a chaste woman.—She is to live under the guardianship of her father, husband or sons. She is not to take to magic (mūla-

karma) for any reason whatsoever. In case she becomes a widow, she is to die by mounting the funeral pyre of her deceased husband146 or remain devoted to him without marrying for the second time. A wife, who dies in the above-mentioned way, is said to have a very happy future. If a widow has none on her husband's side, she is to be maintained by her father or some other relative on her father's side. -Chap. 34.

Duties of women continued.—Their worship of Śrī, Aśokikā, Chando-deva, vāstu-devatā, Viṣṇu, a cow with a calf, the constellations called Kṛttikā and Rohiṇī, Kārttika, Gaurī and Nārāyaṇa.—

Chap. 35.

Story of Savitri, narrated elaborately to exemplify the power of, a

devoted wife. - Chaps. 36-41.

Chaps. 42-44.—On cows.—Sanctity of cows; praise of service to cows; medical treatment of various diseases of cows (viz., those of the eyes, teeth, mouth, heart etc.); description of rites (santi-karma) and measures for the welfare of cows in normal times as well as in various kinds of crises.

Chaps. 45-50—On horses and elephants.—Necessity of these to kings; medical treatment of various diseases of these animals; description of rites (viz., aśva-śānti and gaja-śānti) and measures for their welfare.

Chaps. 51-60.—Necessity of man-power to the king. Directions about the selection of persons for helping the king in his work of public administration.—Chap. 51.

Medical treatment of females, so that they may give birth to

numerous healthy sons.

Nursing and medical treatment of children from their very birth.

pati-vratā tu yā nārī saha bhartrā divam gatā/ 146 kalpāvaśeṣaṃ muditā pūjyate tridaśālaye//

(chap. 34, verse 41), and mṛtaṃ bhartāram ādāya yadi vātha pati-vratā/ praviśed dvija-śārdūla įvalitam jātavedasam// tisrah kotyo 'rdha-koti ca yāni lomāni mānave/ tāvanty eva śatābdāni svarga-loke mahīyate//

and so on (chap. 34, verses 47ff.).

Use of herbs and performance of various rites for their welfare. Performance of other rites and sacraments, viz., jāta-karma, karṇa-vedha, niṣkramaṇa, anna-prāśana¹⁴⁷ and vidyārambha.¹⁴⁸—Chap. 52.

Rites and vows (viz., Rohiņī-snāna, Saptamī-vrata¹⁴⁰ and Aṣṭamī-vrata) to ensure the birth of male children.—Chaps. 53-55.

Symptoms and medical treatment of various diseases of males.—Chap. 56.

Description of ceremonial baths and vows (viz., Satabhiṣā-snāna, Ārogya-dvitīyā-vrata, ¹⁵⁰ Ārogya-pratipad¹⁵¹ and Ārogya-vrata) meant especially for ensuring freedom from diseases.—Chaps. 57-60.

Chap. 61.—On rāja-dharma.—Appointment of administrative officers, viz., grāmādhipati, daśa-grāmādhipa, śata-grāmādhipa and viṣayeśvara, whose activities are to be keenly observed through spies.

Benefits of good administration. Protection of subjects especially from the tyranny of Kāyasthas.¹⁵² Necessity of financial strength. Mention of the manifold avenues of income (viz., revenues, taxes, mines etc.). Laws about treasure-troves, lost articles, inherited property and stolen goods. Rates of taxation on various kinds of indigenous and foreign goods. Protection to be given by kings to Srotriya Brahmins.

Chap. 62.—Necessity of females in life. The king's duties to the inmates of his harem..

Chaps. 63-64.—Directions about the preparation of food and perfumes.

Chap. 65.—Education and protection of princes; general conduct

147 Chap. 52, verses 102-109. This rite includes the testing of the future tendency of the child by means of books, weapons, wares etc.

148 Chap. 52, verses 123ff. At the beginning of this ceremony, Hari, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and the Sūtrakāras are to be worshipped.

149 In this vrata the Sun is to be worshipped.

150 In this vrata the Moon is to be worshipped at night.

151 In this vrata the Sun is to be worshipped.

152 bhakṣyamāṇāḥ prajā rakṣyāḥ kāyasthaiś ca viśeṣataḥ.—Verse 29.

For an idea of the tyranny of the Kāyasthas in Kashmir see Kṣemendra's Kalā-vilāsa, Narma-mālā and Deśopadeśa, and Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇi, iv. 90 and 621ff., vii. 1226, and viii. 131 and 85-114.

of a successful ruler; his duties towards his friends and foes; benefits of good deliberation and of maintenance of its secrecy.

Chaps. 66-71.—Praise of purusakāra (enterprise). Proper application of the expedients, viz., sama (which is classified into 'tathya' and 'atathya'), bheda, dana and danda. The king's possession of certain divine capacities, viz., those of the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, the son of Vivasvat (i.e. Yama), Varuna and others.

Chap. 72.—Occasions for application of danda.—Laws about inheritance of property, unclaimed articles, stolen goods, witnesses, mortgaged property, deposits, contract, purchase, marriage, boundary, defamation, criminal assault, theft, adultery, prostitution, holy days, gambling, prize-fighting, labour, embankments, taking of forbidden food, etc.; and nature of punishment in case of violation of these laws.

Chap. 73.—Occasions for application of danda.—Rules of expiation (prayascitta) for sin caused by food, killing of animals, theft etc.; and punishment for violation of these rules.

Chap. 74.—Methods of performance of various kinds of rahasya-

prāyaścitta.

Chaps. 75-76.—Determination of the periods of impurity (asauca) caused by births and deaths; cremation and other attendant rites (such as offer of food and water to the deceased, consolation of the bereaved relatives, and so on); purification of things (dravya-śuddhi).

Chaps. 80-82.—Duties of the four castes. Origin, nature, and duties of the mixed castes (viz., Caṇḍāla, Māgadha, Āyogava, Vaidehaka, Sūta, Pukkasa and others). Profession of the members of the four castes in times of extreme distress (apad-dharma); rules about interest and agriculture. 153

Chaps. 83-84.—Description of ceremonial baths, viz., Pūrvāṣāḍhāsnāna (meant for profit in trade) and Mūla-snāna (for gain in agricul-

Chaps. 85-86.—Rules to be observed during cohabitation with the ture). wife to ensure the birth of a male child; description of the different sacraments (samskāra). Duties of a student.

Chap. 87.—Marriage. - Intercaste marriage - permissible in the

descending order of castes; relative position of the wives of different castes; disapprobation of the acceptance of śulka (nuptial fee); remarriage of women; forms of marriage; method of accepting the girls of different castes; auspicious time for marriage; rules about adhivedana; and so on.

Description of the method of worshipping Sacī before celebrating a marriage ceremony. 155

Chaps. 88-110. — Daily duties of a householder, viz., answering the call of nature, cleansing the mouth, bathing etc. Various prescriptions and prohibitions for a householder. — Chaps. 88-89.

Method of worshipping Viṣṇu, and selection of flowers for the purpose. — Chaps. 90-91.

Performance of Vaiśvadeva; offer of food to the manes; giving of fodder to cows; reception of guests; gifts of various things to guests.

—Chap. 92.

Instructions about taking food and sleeping. Performance of 'pañca-mahāyajña' as well as of other sacrifices.—Chaps. 93-95.

Description of ceremonial baths (viz., Kṛttikā-snāna, Ārdrā-snāna, Śravaṇā-snāna, Janmarkṣa-snāna, Dikpāla-snāna, Vināyaka-snāna, Māheśvara-snāna etc.) and of special worship of Viṣṇu under particular Nakṣatras and on special occasions for the accomplishment of desired objects, such as destruction of one's enemies, freedom from diseases, and so on.—Chaps. 96-110.

Chaps. 111-123.—On karma-vipāka.—Results of sinful acts such as murder, theft, etc. Description of birth of creatures (with a discourse on bhoga-deha and the origin of the foetus.—Chaps.112-114).

nașțe mrte pravrajite klibe 'tha patite 'patau/, pancasv āpatsu nāriṇām patir anyo vidhīyate// (II. 87. 11).

This verse occurs again in Visnudh. III. 329 and is the same as Parāśara-smṛti 4. 30. Both in Visnudh. III. 329 (verse 14) and Parāśara-smṛti, chap. 4 it reads 'patite patau'.

155 See verses 21ff. During this worship, an image of Saci is to be constructed with earth, taken with great ceremony to the side of a river or a lake by such women as have their husbands living, and worshipped for three days. While taking the image to the place of worship, these women are to wear red clothes and carry arms in their hands.

Description of the structure of the human body (chap. 115). Passing of the soul out of the body, and the dissolution of the latter into the five elements; description of the region of the dead-preta-loka (chap. Actions (viz., the due performance of one's duties, abstention from wine, meat etc., donation of various things, and so on) that lead to heaven; and actions leading to hell.—Chaps. 117-8.

Names and description of hells; results of stealing different articles.

-Chaps. 119-121.

Actions that enable people to get over difficulties. Description of various kinds of expiatory penances, viz., Candrayana, Santapana, Taptakṛcchra, Kṛcchrātikṛcchra etc.—Chaps. 122-3.

Chaps. 124-129--Praise of muttering the Gayatri and the different Sūktas of the Rgveda. Method of performing vasīkaraņa, uccātana etc. with the use of mantras of the Yajurveda. Attainment of different objects by muttering different mantras of the Sama-veda and the Atharva-veda and performing homas with these. Praise of the Śrī-sūkta and the Purusa-sūkta, and their use in homas.

Chaps. 130-131.—Duties of vānaprasthas and saṃnyāsins.

Chaps. 132-133.—Mention of various kinds of Atharvana śanti (purificatory rite) meant for the accomplishment of various objects.

Chaps. 134-144.—Various kinds of heavenly, atmospheric and terrestrial omens (utpāta), as described by Vrddha-garga to Atri.

Chaps. 145-150. - Mention of the seven angas of a kingdom, viz., sāma, dāna, durga, kośa, danda, mitra and janapada; description of a circle of kings (raja-mandala) consisting of vijigīsu, ari, mitra, pārsnigrāha, ākranda etc.

Description and application of prakāśa and aprakāśa daņda; occasion for upekṣā; terrifying the enemies by creating artificial omens, shouting, taking to magic, and by various other means; explanation and application of sadgunya.

Chap. 151.—Daily duties of kings, viz., meeting the spies, hearing about the income and expenditure, answering the call of nature, and so on (including hearing of disputes and deliberation with ministers).

Chaps. 152-158.—Religious rites to be performed by the king. Description of Vișnu-worship for four months (caturmasya-vidhi); worship of Indra's banner (śakra-dhvaja), which Viṣṇu gave to the gods after the latter's defeat in a war with the demons and which was worshipped by king Vasu and others according to the directions of Garga; worship of Bhadrakālī in a picture on Āśvina-śukla-navamī.

Chaps. 159-161.—Description of nīrājana-śānti. Mantras of chatra, aśva, dhvaja etc., and Ghrta-kambala-śānti, as described by Parāśara to Gālava.

Chap. 162 .- Annual coronation of the king.

Chaps. 163-165.—Proper time for marching against enemies. Omens indicating good or evil in marches. Determination of the king's good or evil from questions etc.

Chaps. 166-174.—On astrology and astronomy.—Position of planets and stars, and their influence on the life and activity of the king; astronomical calculations (including measurement of planets and stars).

[All these chapters are written in prose, and in these, Brahmā

speaks to Bhrgu.

Towards the beginning of chap. 166 the former says to the latter: "When, at the beginning of the Kalpa, you were born from my heart, I told you about the movements of the luminaries in twenty-four lacs of verses. ... I shall repeat all these very briefly. ... "... 156

The colophon of chap. 174 is followed by the words 'samaptam

paitāmaha-siddhāntam'.]

Chaps. 175-176.—Determination of proper time for starting against enemies. Rites (such as worship of Vināyaka and other deities, performance of jaya-snāna or bath for victory, consecration of weapons, and so on) to be performed before and during the start; the king's conduct in the land of his enemies.

Chap. 177.—Preliminaries of war (viz., bathing of elephants and

156 See Viṣṇudh. II. 166—...śrībrahmāṇaṃ bhṛgur vijñāpayāmāsa—bhagavañ jyotiṣām ayanaṃ śrotum icchāmi/ tam uvāca bhagavān pitāmahaḥ/ yadā me tvaṃ kalpādau hṛdayāj jātas tadā mayā te ślokānāṃ caturviṃśati-lakṣaṃ jyotirayanam uktaṃ tad evāsmin vāruṇe yajñe mahādeva-śāpena jvālāṃ bhittvā vinirgatasya janmāntarotpannasya atisaṃkṣiptaṃ vakṣyāmi/ tacchrutvā sarvam eva te pūrva-janmābhihitaṃ jyotir-jñānam āvirbhaviṣyati/

horses, worship of Nṛsiṃha, and so on). Philosophy and method of war (with the names of vyūhas and the mention of the dexterity of people of different countries in different types of war); praise of death in war; duty of the king after attainment of victory.

Chaps. 178-183.—On dhanurveda (including use of khadga, prāsa, śūla etc. in war, and dressing of horses and elephants for the same

purpose).

Khanda III.

Chap. 1.—Vajra's enquiry about the means of attaining happiness here and hereafter; and Mārkandeya's praise of the worship of deities in sacrifices, on the one hand, and of the observance of fasts, vows etc., on the other.

Praise of worship of deities in beautiful images constructed in accordance with the principles of painting (citrasūtra-vidhānena)

Chap. 2.—Being requested by Vajra to speak on the art of painting (citrasūtram) Mārkaṇḍeya says that knowledge of painting is dependent on that of dancing, knowledge of dancing rests on that of instrumental music (ātodya), and the science of instrumental music is dependent on that of vocal music (gīta), and that one, who is versed in the science of vocal music, can master all the rest.¹⁵⁸

dākṣiṇātyāś ca vijñeyāḥ kuśalāḥ khaḍga-varmiṇaḥ/
vaṅkalā dhānvino jñeyāḥ pārvatīyās tathaiva ca//
pāṣāṇa-yuddha-kuśalās tathā parvata-vāsinaḥ/
pāñcālāḥ śūrasenāś ca ratheṣu kuśalā narāḥ//
kāmbojā ye ca gāndhārāḥ kuśalās te hayeṣu ca/
prāyaśaś ca tathā mlecchā vijñeyāḥ pāśa-yodhinaḥ//
aṅgā vaṅgāḥ kaliṅgāś ca jñeyā mātaṅga-yodhinaḥ//

vinā tu nṛtya-śāstreṇa citrasūtraṃ sudurvidam/ jagato na kriyā kāryā dvayor api yato nṛpa//

> ātodyam yo na jānāti tasya nṛttam hi durvidam/ ātodyena vinā nṛttam vidyate na kathamcana//

na gitena vinā śakyam jñātum ātodyam apy uta/ gīta-śāstra-vidhānajñah sarvam vetti yathāvidhi// Going to speak on gīta-śāstra Mārkaṇdeya refers to the following topics:—composition of songs (i) in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and various local dialects and (ii) in prose and verse; lassification of verses into vṛtta and mātrika according to the nature of their metres: mention of some points on grammar, viz., use of śabda-vibhaktis, mention and use of different persons, and so on.

Chap. 3.—Mention of the following vṛṭṭas (with the number of syllables in a quarter): —Gāyatra, Uṣṇik, Anuṣṭubh, Bṛhatī, Paṅkti, Triṣṭubh, Jagatī, Atijagatī, Sakvarī, Atiśakvarī, Aṣṭi, Atyaṣṭi, Vṛtti, Ativṛtti, Kṛti, Prakṛti, Ākṛti, Vikṛti, Saṃkṛti, Vikṛti(?) and Atikṛti. 161 Rules about reckoning the syllables as laghu or guru. Characteristics of Nivṛt (?), Tamat (?), Virāṭ and Surā; and the origin of the different types of mātrā-cchandaḥ (or metres regulated by the numbers of syllabic instants). 162

Chaps. 4-6.—Characteristics of the speeches of gods, sages,

saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ caiva gītaṃ dvividham ucyate/
apabhraṣṭaṃ tṛtiyaṃ ca tad anantaṃ narādhipa//
deśa-bhāṣā-viśeṣeṇa tasyānto neha vidyate/
gītaṃ pāṭha-vaśāj jñeyaṃ sa ca pāṭho dvidhā mataḥ//
gadyaṃ padyaṃ ca dharmajña gadyaṃ saṃkathayā smṛtam/
padyaṃ chando-viśeṣeṇa cchandaś ca bahudhā bhavet//
gadya-padyānubhāvena jñeyau lakṣaṇa-saṃyutau/
padyaṃ ca dvividhaṃ tatra suvṛttam atimuktakam//

161 Verses 8b-9a saṃkṛtiś caika-saṃyuktā kathitā vikṛtir nṛpa/ ṣaḍviṃśatiś cātikṛtiś chandaś coktaṃ manīṣibhiḥ//

The text of this verse is obviously corrupt. According to the Chando-mañjari and the Vrtta-ratnākara, Atikrti has 25 syllables in a quarter and Utkrti has 26.

Verses 17-19—
... mātrācchandas tathaiva hi/,
uktavarņākṣaraṃ chando bhaved eka-vivarjitaḥ//,
yadā tadā nivṛt-saṃjño hy adhikena tamat tathā/,
varṇa-dvayena rahitaṃ virāḍ iti hi śabditam//,
adhikaṃ ca surā-saṃjñaṃ kathitaṃ yadu-sattama/,
tebhyo bhavanti sarvāṇi mātrā-cchandāṃsi yādava//

demons etc. Definition¹⁶³ and classification of sūtras; characteristics of their explanation; different kinds of pramāṇa; meaning of 'āpta' and 'āpta-vacanābhāsa'; and so on.

Explanation of the terms 'adhikaraṇa,' 'yoga', 'padārtha,' 'hetvar-

tha,' 'uddeśa', 'arthāpatti' etc.

Chap. 7.- Characteristics of Prakrit.

This chapter ends with the following two verses:—

dimātram etad uddiṣṭam madhyā prākṛta-lakṣaṇam/
prayogād anukartavyo vistaro hy ativistaraḥ//
deśeṣu deśeṣu pṛthag vibhinnam na śakyate lakṣaṇatas tu vaktum/
lokeṣu yat syād apabhraṣṭa-saṃjñaṃ jñeyaṃ hi tad-deśavido
'dhikāram//

Chaps. 8-13.—Sanskrit vocabulary.—

List of synonymous words denoting various divine beings, division of time, rivers, men etc.

Lists of feminine, masculine and neuter words.

Chaps. 14-16.—On poetics (alamkāra)—

Definition of anuprāsa, and limitation in its use; 164 definition and use 165 of yamaka, and its classification into saṃdaṣṭaka and samudga; definitions of rūpaka, vyatireka, śleṣa, utprekṣā, arthāntara-nyāsa, upanyāsa, vibhāvanā, atiśayokti, svabhāvokti, yathā-saṃkhya, viśeṣokti, virodha, nindā-stuti, nidarśana etc.—Chap. 14.

[In some of the verses there are references to older authorities on poetics.—See Chap. 14, verse 7—utprekṣākhyo hy alaṃkāraḥ kathitaḥ sa purātanaiḥ; verse 12—yathāsaṃkhyam iti proktam alaṃkāraḥ purātanaiḥ; and verse 15—ananvayākhyaṃ kathitaṃ purāṇaiḥ * * *.]

Definitions of 'itihāsa' and 'kāvya'.

Definition and characteristics of 'mahākāvya' (which should

- 163 Chap. 5, verse 1—
 alpākṣaram asaṃdigdhaṃ sāravad viśvatomukham/
 astobham anavadyaṃ ca sūtraṃ sūtravido viduḥ//
- 164 Chap. 14, verse 2a—
 atyartham tat kṛtam rājan grāmyatām upagacchati/
 (tat=anuprāsam).
 - 165 Chap. 14, verse 4a—
 samasta-pāda-yamakam duṣkaram parikīrtitam/

contain description of towns, countries etc. and have a nāyaka and a pratināyaka, but should not describe the death of the nāyaka). 166

Defects in poetical composition.

Delineation of nine Rasas in Mahākāvyas, viz., śṛṅgāra, hāsya, karuṇa, raudra, vīra, bhayānaka, bībhatsa, adbhuta and śānta.— Chap. 15.

Prahelikās (Riddles).—Classification of Prahelikās into those which are faulty (doṣāḥ) and those which are faultless. Names and definitions of the Prahelikās of the second type, viz., samāgatā, vanditā, 167 vṛttānta-gopikā, duḥkhitā, parihāsikā, samāna-rūpā, paruṣā, saṃkhyātā, kalpitā, nāmāntaritā, nibhṛtā, samāna-śabdā, vyāmūḍhā, gucchā, 168 eka-cchannā, ubhaya-cchannā, bahu-cchannā and saṃkīrṇā.

Further classification of Prahelikās into vyabhicāriņī, naṣṭārthā, naṣṭākṣarā, varṇabhraṣṭā and leśākhyā.

Restriction on the use of even the faultless Prahelikas. 169—Chap. 16.

Chaps. 17-31.—On dramaturgy.—

Mention of 'Purāṇa' as having four Pādas (viz., Prakriyā, Upod-ghāta, Anuṣaṅga and Saṃhāra) and five characteristics (pañca-lakṣaṇa—sarga, pratisarga, vaṃśa, manvantara and vaṃśānucarita).

Origin of dramas;170 general form of dramas;171 classification of

166 Chap. 15, verses 7b-8a—
pratināyaka-ghātas tu vaktavyo netarasya tu/
nāyakasya mahārāja maraṇaṃ naiva varṇayet//

167 The name 'varjitā' (for 'vanditā') occurs in the Dacca Univ. Ms (No. 4669, fol. 10b) of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

168 The Dacca Univ. Ms (No. 4669, fol. 10b) reads 'gūḍhākhyā' for

'gucchākhyā'.

169 Chap, 16, verse 2 ślokenaikena vā dvābhyām kartavyā tu narottama/ na kartavyāś ca tā rājan bahu-śloka-nibandhanāḥ//

170 Chap. 17, verse 7—
itihāsānusāreņa purāņānāṃ samīkṣitam/
caritaṃ tridaśāṇāṃ vā nāṭakaṃ tatra kirtitam//

In this connection the following verses are to be noted:—
bahu-daivatikam vṛttam kartavyam tu praveśakam/
saṃkṣepoktiś ca kartavyā kartavyo na hi vistaraḥ//
prakhyāta-nāyaka-vadham na ca tatra praveśayet/
tasya prakāśanam kāryam anke'py eva narādhipa//

dramas into 12 varieties, viz., Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇa, 172 Prakaraṇī, Utsṛṣṭikāṅka, 173 Bhāṇa, 174 Samavakāra, Īhāmṛga, Vyāyoga, Vīthī, Dima and Prahasana; 175 characteristics of these varieties; use of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṣṭa (i.e. Apabhraṃśa) in dramas; peculiarities (as regards names etc.) of different characters; characteristics of the eight types of nāyikās (nāyikāṣṭaka-lakṣaṇam), viz., vāṣa-sajjā, virahot-kaṇṭhitā, svādhīna-bhartṛkā, kalahāntaritā, khaṇḍitā, vipralabdhā, proṣita-bhartṛkā, and abhisārikā; 176 delineation of the nine Rasas including śānta¹⁷⁷ in dramas.—Chap. 17.

Characteristics of different kinds of vocal music (gīta-lakṣaṇam); names of particular types of vocal music which are appropriate to the

nine Rasas (including Santa.)—Chap. 18.

Classification and characteristics of instrumental music (ātodya); employment of particular types of instrumental music in the cases of the nine Rasas (including Sānta).—Chap. 19.

Dancing and acting.—Definition of nāṭya; necessity of nṛṭta in theatrical performances; classification of nṛṭta; construction of the

nāyakābhyudayaḥ kāryo nāṭakānte tathaiva ca/ bahvyo'pi nāyikā yatra tāsām api tathā bhavet//

Chap. 17, verses 16-18,

172 Chap. 17, verses 19b-21-

kṛtaṃ prakaraṇaṃ tadvat svayam utpādya vastunā// brāhmaṇo nāyakas tatra vaṇik ca nṛpa-sattama/ evaṃ prakaraṇi kāryā catur-aṅkāpi sā bhavet// itihāsānubandho vā svayam utpādya vā kṛtaḥ/ bhāratī-karuṇa-prāyo nivṛttaṃ samanantaram//

173 The Dacca Univ. Ms (No. 4669, fol. 11b) reads 'utsrstakānkah', where-

as the printed edition has 'catustayānkah'.

174 The printed edition reads 'prāṇaḥ' for 'bhāṇaḥ' of the Univ. Ms (fol. 11b).

175 According to the Nāṭya-śāstra, Prahasanas are divided into Bhāṇas and

Vithis.

176 The line 'kāntopasarpaṇa-manās tathā jñeyābhisārikā', mentioning 'abhisārikā', is wanting in the printed edition but occurs in the Dacca Univ. Ms (fol. 12b).

177 Chap. 17, verse 61-

śṛṅgāra-hāsya-karuṇa-vīra-raudra-bhayānakāḥ/ bībhatsādbhuta-śāntākhyā nava nāṭya-rasāḥ smṛtāḥ// stage; religious rites preceding and following a theatrical performance; description of the different modes of *abhinaya*, viz, āhārya, sāttvika, vācika and āṅgika; description of aṅgahāras, karaṇas, śiraḥ-karmans, rasa-dṛṣṭis, hasta-vyavasthās, aṅga-racanā (by means of paints), sāmānyā-bhinaya, gati-lakṣaṇas etc.—Chaps. 20-29.

Treatment of the nine Rasas (including Sānta)¹²⁸ to be delineated in dramas.—Chap. 30.

Description of the 49 bhāvas (including nirveda), 179 and their relation to the different Rasas.—Chap. 31.

[Chaps. 17-31 are based on Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra.]

Chaps. 32-34. — In these chapters Mārkandeya professes to speak 'briefly on nṛṭya-śāstra.' The topics dealt with in these chapters are as follows:—

Names and description of the various mudrās to be performed in dancing.—Chaps. 32-33.

Story of the origin of dancing (nṛṭṭa) from Viṣṇu.—Being eulogised by Brahmā to kill the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, Viṣṇu left his bed, moved gracefully on the ocean, and thus created the art of dancing, by which, he said, one can imitate the three worlds. 180

178 For śānta-rasa see chap. 30, verses 1-2a—
hāsya-śṛṅgāra-karuṇa-raudra-vīra-bhayānakāḥ/
bībhats-ādbhuta-śāntākhyā nava nāṭye rasāḥ smṛtāḥ//
śānto rasaḥ svatantro'tra pṛthag eva vyavasthitaḥ/

verse 4a-

śānta-svabhāva-varņas tu rasaḥ prokto narādhipa/

and verses 8b-11a-

śāntasya devo vijneyaḥ paraḥ puruṣa eva tu//
śāntasya tu samutpattir nṛpa vairāgyataḥ smṛtā/,
sa cābhineyo bhavati linga-grahaṇatas tathā//
sarva-bhūta-dayā-dhyāna-mokṣa-mārga-pravartanaiḥ/,
nāsti yatra sukhaṃ duḥkhaṃ na dveṣo nāpi matsaraḥ//
samaḥ sarveṣu bhūteṣu sa śāntaḥ prathito rasaḥ/

For mention of nirveda, see verse 16.

179 Chap. 31, verse 11b dāridry-eṣṭa-vināśe ca nirvedo nāma jāyate/

180 Chap 34, verse 17b trailokasy-ānukaraṇaṇ nṛtte devi pratiṣṭhitam/ Viṣṇu then killed the demons and imparted the dance, thus created by him, to Brahmā. The latter, in his turn, imparted it to Rudra; and Rudra worshipped Viṣṇu with it.

Praise of worshipping deities with dance; denouncement of the use of dance for earning one's livelihood. Benefits of dancing, as mention-

ed in verses 30b-31 of Chap. 34-

īśvarāṇām vilāsam tu cārtānām duḥkha nāśanam/ mūḍhānām upadeśam tat strīṇām saubhāgya-vardhanam// śāntikam pauṣṭikam kāmyam vāsudevena nirmitam//—

Chaps. 35-43. - Mārkandeya's speech on Citrasūtra (i. e. the art of painting)181.—First invention of the art of painting by Nārāyaṇa, who created Urvasi after painting her figure on the surface of the earth with the juice of a sahakāra tree and taught this new art to Viśvakarman; close relation of painting with dancing; classification of males into hamsa, bhadra, mālavya, rucaka and śaśaka, and the description and measurement of the different parts of their body; division of females into five classes; description of the method of wall-painting; preparation of dyes; classification of paintings into satya, vainika, nāgara and miśra; peculiarities, in dress etc., of different deities, demons, human beings, prostitutes, warriors and others; representation of the sky, mountains, woods, water, seasons, evening, darkness etc., as well as of the nine Rasas (including Santa) through painting; selection of places where pictures representing the different sentiments may be placed;182 types of pictures to be kept in houses, palaces etc.; praise of painting; relation of painting with clay-modelling.

[Chap. 43 ends with the words 'samaptam citrasūtram'.]

181 On this highly interesting section see Stella Kramrisch in Calcutta Review, February 1924, pp. 331ff., and Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. XI, 1924.

182 Chap. 43, verses 11-13—
śṛṅgāra-hāsya-śāntyākhā lekhanīyā gṛheṣu te//
para-śeṣā na kartavyā kadācid api kasyacit/
deva-veśmani kartavyā rasāḥ sarve nṛpālaye//
rāja-veśmani no kāryā rājñāṃ vāsa-gṛheṣu te/
sabhā-veśmasu kartavyā rājñāṃ sarva-rasā gṛhe//

Chaps. 44-85.—Mārkaṇḍeya's speech on the construction of images of deities.—Characteristics of images of the Triad (trimūrti) Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra (chap. 44). Construction of a lotus with gold, silver, copper or brass for worshipping the intended deity on it (chap. 45).

Causes and benefits of image-worship (chap. 46, verses 1-6).

Description, and occasional explanation, of the images of Brahma, Visnu (having four faces and eight hands), Mahesvara (having five faces and ten hands); the two Nāsatyas, Indra-and-Sacī (who are said to be the same as Visnu and Laksmi respectively), Yama (who is accompanied by Citragupta and Kala and is the same as Samkarsana), Varuna (with Ganga and Yamuna at his sides), Dhanada (i.e. Kuvera), Garuda, Tāla, Makara, Siva (having one face and four hands and with Pārvatī at his side), Agni-and-Svāhā, Virūpāksa, Vāyu-and-Siva, Bhairava, Viṣṇu (having one face and two hands), Mahī (the Earth, having four hands and being attended with four quarter-elephants), Gagana (the Sky, having two hands and holding the sun and the moon in them), Brahmā-and-Sāvitrī, Sarasvatī (having four hands), Ananta (having four hands and numerous hoods and holding the earth on the middlemost hood), Tumburu (with Jayā and Vijayā on his right side and with Jayantī and Aparājitā on his left), Sūrya (the Sun, who has four hands and beautiful beards and wears a coat and a girdle called 'aviyānga',183 and who is lion-bannered and is attended by Dandin and Pingala, as well as either by his four sons named Revanta, Yama, Vaivasvata Manu and Sāvarņi Manu and his four wives Rājñī, Rikṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā or by the other planets), Candra (the Moon), 184 the Planets, Manus, Kumāra (and his other forms, viz., Skanda, Viśākha and Guha), Bhadrakālī (having eighteen hands and mounting a chariot drawn by four lions), Brahmā (mounted on a swan), Vināyaka (having four hands and the head of an elephant), Viśvakarman (having two hands and carrying a samdamsa in one of them), Vasus, Visvedevas, Rudras, Sādhyas, Ādityas, Maruts, multifarious divine and semi-

184 For datailed description of the image of the Moon, see chap. 68.

^{183 &#}x27;Aviyānga' (or 'avyanga') is the name of the girdle originally worn by Magi priests of ancient Persia. In the Avesta it is called Aivyāonghen.

divine beings (viz., Kaśyapa, Kaśyapa's wives, Dhruva, Agastya, Bhṛgus, Jayanta, Bala, Puṣkara, Jyotsnā, Nalakubara, Manibhadra, Vāyu-putra, Soma-suta, Nandin, Vīrabhadra and Artha; Kāmadeva and his four wives; some female deities such as Sarasvatī, Vārunī, Cāmuṇḍā, Suṣkā, Siva-dūtī and others; Kāla, Jvara, and Dhanvantari; the presiding deities of the individual Vedas, Sadangas, and various other śāstras, viz., dharmaśāstra, itihāsa, nṛtta-śāstra, pāñcarātra, pāśupata etc.), Linga, Vyoman, Nara-and-Nārāyana (with a fruit-bearing badārī tree standing between them), Dharma (having four faces, four hands, four legs, and a white complexion), Nṛṣiṃha, Varāha, Hayagrīva (having eight hands), Padma-nābha (Visnu), Laksmī (having two hands and being attended with two elephants holding two pitchers), Viśvarūpa (Hari), Aidūka (representing the universe as well as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara), Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Matsya, Kūrma, Bhārgava Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathi and his brothers, Vālmīki, the five Pāṇḍavas, Draupadī, Devakī, Yaśodā, Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Rukmiņī, Satyabhāmā, Sāmba and others.—Chaps. 46-85.

Chaps. 86-95.—Building of temples.—Description of different types of temples (such as Sarvatobhadra etc.) meant for different deities (chaps. 86-88); the architect's selecting, cutting and bringing of wood and stone from forests and mountains respectively for the construction of temples (chaps. 89-90); method of preparing bricks (chap. 91); composition of cement (ch. 92); selection and purification of sites for the construction of temples; special marks and flags for the temples of different deities (chaps. 93-95).

Chaps. 96-117.—Consecration (pratistha) of an image 185 of Visnu. Determination of proper time of consecration. Detailed description of the method of consecration (—initiation of the consecrator; performance of torana-nyāsa; preparation of pañca-gavya; purification of the image; performance of adhivāsa; summoning of the principal deity with his attendants; performance of homa and of the ceremony of

ādau kṛtvā mahābhāga sākāre lakṣa-bandhanam/ tataḥ samartho bhavati śūnye dhyāne narottama//

Chap. 108, verses 26b-27a.

¹⁸⁵ In explaining the neccessity of summoning Viṣṇu although he pervades the universe, Mārkaṇḍeya supports image-worship thus:—

awakening the Bhagavat (bhagavad-vibodhana); bathing and anointing the Bhagavat; offer of various things to the deity; worship of the deity according to Vedic and Sattvata methods; taking out the image in procession.

Chaps. 118-125.—Results of, and occasions for, worshipping Visnu's different manifestations 186 and muttering their names; proper time and places187 of such worship and muttering.

Chaps. 126-225.—Description of various Vratas, viz., Brāhmī Pratipad, Trimūrti-vrata, Paurusī Pratipad, Prakṛti-Puruṣa-vrata, Nāsatya-dvitīyā-vrata, Bālendu-dvitīyā-vrata, Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyāvrata, Trivikrama-tṛtīyā-vrata (of three varieties), Visnu-trimūrti-vrata, Vișnu-caturmūrti-vrata (of fifteen varieties), Panca-mūrti-vrata (of four varieties), Sanmūrti-vrata, Sapta-mūrti-vrata, Pātāla-vrata, Sapta-dvīpavrata, Sapta-samudra-vrata, Sapta-śaila-vrata, Sapta-loka-vrata, Saptanadī-vrata, Sapta-hrada-vrata, Saptarsi-vrata, Marud-vrata, Sūrya-vrata (with the mention of the names of those who follow the Sun in the different months), (Saura-)-Saptamī-vrata, (Saura-) Rakta-saptamī-vrata, Astāvasu-vrata, Maheśvarāstamī-vrata, Parvatāstamī-vrata, Bhadrakālīvrata, Viśvedeva-vrata, Angiro-vrata, Dharma-vrata, Rudra-vrata, Bhṛgu-vrata, Sādhya-vrata, Dvādaśāditya-vrata, Kāmadeva-vrata, Dhanavrata, Vāyu-vrata, Virūpākṣa-vrata, Yama-vrata, Maheśvara-vrata, Pitrvrata, Vahni-vrata, Candra-vrata, Paurnamāsī-vrata, Varuņa-vrata, Sakra-vrata, Brahmakūrca-vrata, Mahāvrata, Roca-vrata, etc.

The deities, to be worshipped in these Vratas, are called the different forms of Visnu.

In chaps. 215-220 Mārkaṇḍeya reports to Vajra what Pulastya said to Dalbhya about the procedure of some Vratas. These six chapters form a distinct section ending with the words 'samaptah pulastya-dālbhya-samvādah.'

186 Vālmīki, Dharma, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Indra, Pṛthu and Divākara also

are regarded as Viṣṇu's manifestations.—See chaps. 118-121.

¹⁸⁷ The names of places include the following:--Puṣkara, Kālañjara, Sindhu-kūla, Kāśmīra, Karņāṭa, Madra-deśa, Prāgjyotiṣa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Malaya, Anga, Mūlasthāna, Gayā, Lohadanda, Vrndāvana, Udra ('where Viṣṇu remains as Purușottama'—udreșu purușottamam) etc.—See chaps. 121 and 125.

Chaps. 223-224 contain the story of Astāvakra, who learnt, from Kuvera and an old woman, about the various Roca-vratas and the unstable nature of women respectively.

Chaps. 226-342.—In these chapters, which constitute the Hamsa-gītā, Visņu is said to have assumed the form of Hamsa and spoken to

the sages on the following topics: -

Duties of the four main castes and of the mixed castes. Duties of students and householders. Selection of food¹⁸⁸ (bhakṣyābhakṣya). Purification of things (dravya-śuddhi). Impurity caused by birth, death and miscarriage. Good manners and customs. Sacraments. Various prescriptions and prohibitions. Sins and expiations. Results of actions. —Chaps. 227-237.

[None of these chapters contains anything striking. They consist mainly of verses derived from the Manu-smṛti, Yājñavalkya-smṛti,

Parāśara-smṛti etc.]

Various unfavourable symptoms (arista) of approaching death.—

Chap. 238.

Evils of nescience (ajñāna), sins, passion, overjoy, self-conceit, intoxication, greed, anger, atheism, egotism, want of purity, violation of ācāra, telling lies (except in some special cases), and practice of bimsā (except in certain special cases).—Chaps. 239-252.

Results of various sinful acts.—Chap. 253.

Benefits of the following:—acquirement of knowledge (jñāna), practice of dharma, service to superiors, study of sacred books (viz., the Vedas, Vedāngas, Upavedas, Sāmkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata, Purāṇa etc.), practice of brahmacarya, and begetting of sons.—Chaps. 254-259.

Praise of reputation (kīrti), fame (yaśaḥ), sacrifice (yajña), good conduct (śīla), self-control, truth, religious austerity, bravery (especially in war), ahiṃsā, tolerance (kṣamā), gratitude, good manners and customs, purity (śauca), visit to holy places, fasting, mental purity,

śraddba, and bath.-Chaps. 260-277.

¹⁸⁸ Food offered by rangāvatārins, pāṣaṇḍas, cikitsā-jīvakas, āyudha-jīvins, śāstra-vikrayakārins, caila-dhāvakas and others is not eatable.—Chap. 230, verses iff.

Method and praise of muttering the *mantra*, performance of prāṇāyāma, and practice of pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi.

—Chaps. 278-284.

Praise of perseverance (vyavasāya) and determination (saṃkalpa), which are at the root of final emancipation.—Chaps. 285-286.

Praise and results of performing *homa*, worshipping deities with the offer of various things and rendering service to them, offering different articles to the Pitrs, performing the rites of hospitality to guests, serving Brahmins and cows, showing compassion, becoming courteous, speaking sweet words, and being enterprising.—Chaps. 287-295.

Praise and results of digging wells, tanks etc., planting trees, plants and creepers, making embankments and well-furnished prapās (i. e. places for distributing water to travellers), and serving and helping the travellers in various ways.—Chaps. 296-298.

Classification of wealth into (a) white (śukla), (b) variegated (śabala) and (c) black (kṛṣṇa), and the ways of earning these different kinds of wealth.—Chap. 299.

Praise of donation. Proper time, place 189 and recipients (who are Brahmins in most cases).—Chap. 300.

Certain rules about receiving gifts; deities presiding over the different kinds of gifts; methods of receiving these gifts.—Chap. 301.

Results of assuring safety (abhaya-dāna) under different circumstances.—Chap. 302.

Results and praise of vidyā-dāna,190 kanyā-dāna (according to the

189 The names of places, as specially mentioned in verses 25-29, are the following:—Puṣkara, Prayūga, Prabhāsa, Naimiṣa, Dharmāranya, Gayā, Amarakantaka, Gaṅgādvāra, Kuśāvarta, Bilvaka, Nila-parvata, Kanakhala, Śāligrāma, Vārāṇasī, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, Sindu-sāgara-sandhi, Tritakūpa, Plakṣa-prasravaṇa, Camasonmajjana, Mahālaya, Kedāra, Bhṛgutuṅga, Mānasa, Uttara-mānasa and Dadhi-tīrtha.

190 In connection with vidyā-dāna, special mention has been made of teaching the Vedas, Upavedas, Vedāngas, Dharma-śāstras, Siddhāntas and other śāstras, the different kinds of arts (śilpa), and dhanurveda.—Chap. 303.

Brāhma, Daiva and Prājāpatya forms), bhūmi-dāna,101 go-mahiṣa-dāna, dadhi-dugdhādi-dāna, and kapilā-dāna.—Chaps. 303-306.

Description and praise of ghrta-dhenu-dana, tila-dhenu-dana and

jala-dhenu-dana. - Chaps. 307-309.

Results and praise of suvarņa-rūpyādi-dāna, muktā-marakatavaidūryādi-dāna, śayyāsanādi-vividha-vastu-dāna, dāsa-dāsī-dāna, hastyaśvostra-gardabhādi-dāna, vastra-dāna,192 śirastrāṇa-hastatrāṇa-pādatrāņādi-dāna, dhānya193-yava-godhūma-tila-mudgādi-dāna, guda-phānitādidana, and anna-dana. - Chaps. 310-315.

Results of making gifts to different types of recipients and at

different times .- Chaps. 316-319.

Results of taking one meal a day and of observing fast for one day or more. - Chap. 320.

Names of different regions (loka) attainable by those who perform different kinds of pious acts.—Chap.321.

Duties of devoted wives.—Chap. 322.

Duties of kings .- Appointment of ministers and other officers; construction of well-provided forts; marriage; appointment of officers (viz., grāmādhipa, daśa-grāmādhipa, śata-grāmādhipa and deśeśvara) for carrying on rural administration; levying of taxes; 194 and so on. -Chap. 323.

Treatment of vyavabāra (administration of justice) under the following heads: - constitution of the court of justice; laws about summoning the accused and placing him under legal restraint; method of recording a plaint; legal procedure; examination of witnesses; laws about mortgage, gifts etc.; different kinds of evidence (viz., sāksin,

191 Land has been classified into śāka-bhūmi, ārāma-bhūmi, udyāna-bhūmi,

ākara-bhūmi, gṛha-bhūmi etc.—See Chap. 304.

192 In chap. 313 clothes have been classified, according to their materials, into kārpāsika, sa-roma, āvika, kṣauma, kuśa-nirmita, kauśeya, krimija, mṛgalomika, valkalaja, and sumera-kadaly-ādi-nirmita,

People are prohibitted from giving to Brahmins clothes coloured blue or red.

-Chap. 313, verses 3 and 11.

193 In chap. 314 there is mention of different kinds of rice, viz., rakta-śāli (which is said to be the best of all), kàlama, mahāśāli, kāṣṭha-śāli, vrīhi, śyāmāka, śuka-dhānya etc.

194 For the rates of taxes see chap. 323, verses 38-44.

lekhya, bhoga, and divya); comparative strength of title and possession; method of writing a document (lekhya); qualification of witnesses; description of the different kinds of ordeals; recognition of the eight forms of marriage; legal position of the twelve kinds of sons (viz., aurasa, putrikā-putra, kṣetraja, paunarbhava, kānīna, sahodha, gūdhotpanna, dattaka, krīta, apaviddha, upagata and śūdrā-putra); laws of partition and inheritance, and of debt, mortgage and deposit; laws about joint-stock companies; settlement of disputes between masters and servants; laws about transgression of compact, about purchase and sale, about guilds and corporate bodies, and about boundary disputes; determination of the nature of punishment and

In chap. 328 there is mention of eight kinds of ordeals—
kośam dhaṭam viṣam cāgnim udakam tapta-māṣakam/
phālam ca taṇḍulam caiva divyāny aṣṭau vidur budhāh// (verse 6).

196 The following lines (on the different forms of marriage, remarriage of

married girls, etc.) are interesting.-

prājāpatyas tathā daivo brāhmas cāpi subhās trayah// gandharvo rāksasaś caiva madhyamau parikirtitau/ āsuraś caiva paiśāca ārṣaś caiva tathādhamaḥ// na te kāryāh prayatnena kadācid api kenacit/ āsurasya tathārsasya višeso naiva vidyate// śulkam eva tato jñeyam alpam vā yadi vā bahu/ prāņi-vikrayiņah sarve narakam yānti mānavāh// viścena ca yali putram vikrināti svakam narali/, narake vasatim tasya bahūn abda-gaṇān viduḥ// mṛte bhartari yā kanyā kevalam hasta-dūṣitā/ sā ced akṣata-yoniḥ syāt punaḥ saṃskāram arhati// ity evam kecid icchanti na tan mama matam dvijāh/ saptame hi pade vṛtte nānyam arhati sā patim// vācā dattā tu yā kanyā mantrais caiva na samskṛtā/, anyasya sā bhaved deyā sati bhartari doṣiṇī// naște mrte pravrajite klibe 'tha patite patau/ pañcasv āpatsu nārīṇām patir anyo vidhīyate// Chap. 329, verses 6b-14.

trīņi varṣāṇy upāsīta kumāry ṛtumatī satī/ ukta-kālāt paraṃ kanyā vindate sadṛśaṃ patim//

Chap. 329, verse 28.

The verse 'naște mrte pravrajite', as occurring in Vișnudh. II. 87. 11, reads 'patite 'patau'.

the amounts of fine in different kinds of crimes (viz., theft, murder, adultery, drinking of wine, killing of lower animals, defamation, criminal assault, etc.).—Chaps. 324-338

[Chaps. 324-338 abound in verses taken from the Vyavahārasection of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. Some of the verses of these chapters have been taken from the Dharma-śāstras of Manu, Nārada, Parāśara and others.]

Duties of vanaprasthas and yatis. - Chaps. 339-340.

[These two chapters contain verses of the Manu-smrti; and the second has a few metrical lines from the Upanisads.]

Results of building new Viṣṇu-temples or repairing old ones, constructing images of Viṣṇu, serving Viṣṇu in various ways, singing his praise, and offering to him various things (including female slaves and dancing girls).—Chap. 341.

The sages' eulogy of Viṣṇu, and their vision of the universe in the latter's body. Praise of the Hamsa-gītā.—Chap. 342.

[The colophon of chap. 342 is followed by the words 'hamsa-gītā

samāptā.']

Chaps. 343-348.—In glorifying Viṣṇu as extremely kind to his devotees, Mārkaṇḍeya narrates the stories of (a) Viṣṇu's favour to Garuḍa, although the latter, being offended with the former for assuring safety to a Nāga named Sumukha, boasted of his own capacity and reproached Viṣṇu as ungrateful, (b) Viṣṇu's birth as Vāmana to recover Indra's kingdom from Bali, and (c) king Vasu Uparicara's self-protection in the nether world by means of the Aparājitā Vidyā which was instructed to him by Bṛhaspati, and his winning of Viṣṇu's favour.

In these stories there are eulogies of Viṣṇu and Garuḍa and a description of the Vaiṣṇavī Aparājitā Vidyā.

Chaps. 349-354.—Glorification of Visnu by means of the stories

of

(a) Nārada, who went to Šveta-dvīpa in accordance with the advice of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, pleased Vāsudeva there by eulogising him and by taking to ekānta-bhāva, learnt from him about thousands of his past and future manifestations, and won Vāsudeva's favour by zeal-

ously worshipping him in accordance with the method described to him by Nara and Nārāyaṇa (chaps. 349-353), and

(b) a Sāttvata named Viṣvaksena, who, being 'ekānta-bhāvo-pagata', violated the order of a Māheśvara and worshipped Narasiṃha, instead of Siva, in a Siva-linga, and whose life was saved from the hands of the Māheśvara by Viṣṇu himself who came out of the Siva-linga by assuming the form of Narasiṃha (chap. 354).

Chap. 355.—The hymn (called Lingasphota) that was recited by Visvaksena.

Conclusion of the Visnudharmottara.

From the summary of the contents given above it is evident that the Viṣṇudharmottara is an ambitious work containing chapters on multifarious subjects. But it does not claim originality in all matters. There are indications which show that this work has more the character of a compilation than that of an original work. If t contains summaries of, and extracts and isolated verses from, some of the early works of the different branches of Sanskrit literature. For instance, it widely utilises the Rāmāyaṇa and incorporates a large number of verses from the Mahābhārata, Is the Bhagavad-gītā and the Upaniṣads. In its chapters on astronomy and astrology, it has verses from the works

197 For instance, see Viṣṇudh. I. 1. 16—
tasmāt tvaṃ rāja-śārdūla praṣṭum arho dvijottamān/
vaiṣṇavān vividhān dharmān sarahasyān sasaṃgrahān//

198 For example, Visnudh. III. 343-355 are based on the Nārāyaniya section of the Sānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata; the verse 'sāmkhyam yogam pāñcarātram' (Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 34 and II. 22. 133) is much the same as Mbh XII. 349. 1 and 64; and so on.

199 For verses borrowed from the Bhagavad-gitā see Visnudh. I. 38. 10, 52. 5b-7a, 122. 9b-10a, 171. 10-11, 172. 8, 20 and 33, and 190. 14.15; II. 74. 23, 78. 28-34, and 82. 33; and so on.

200 Visnudh. III. 340.40 = Švetāśvataropanisad 3.20 = Kathopanisad 1.2.20.

III. 340.41 = "3.8" 3.8" 3.9

", III. 340.43b-c= ", 4.6=Mundakopanisad 3.1.1.

etc. etc.

of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati.²⁰¹ In Viṣṇudh. II. 154 (verses 18 and 22) Garga is said to have instructed king Vasu on the method of worshipping the Sakra-dhvaja (banner of Indra); in Viṣṇudh. II. 134-144 Vṛddha-garga speaks to Atri on various kinds of omens; and in Viṣṇudh. II. 159-161 Parāśara is said to have spoken to Gālava on the mantras of chatra, aśva etc. as well as on Ghṛta-kambala-śānti. Viṣṇudh. II. 166-174, which constitute a distinct section called 'Paitāmaha-siddhānta' and have Brahmā and Bhṛgu as the interlocutors, most probably give the summary of a bigger work of some similar title. Viṣṇudh. III. 86-95 (on the building of temples) are said to have been based on an earlier work ascribed to Pitāmaha (Brahmā).²⁰² In its sections on ācāra, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta, the Viṣṇudharmottara refers to Manu as a law-giver on several occasions²⁰³ and utilises the language and contents chiefly of the Manu-smṛṭi,²⁰⁴

For instance, the verse 'mayūra-candrikābho vā', which Vallālasena found in his Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara, occurred in the work of Garga (see Adbhutasāgara, p. 17), and Viṣṇudh. I. 85. 27b-28a (udayāstamane bhānoḥ etc.) greatly resembled a verse of Garga (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 290-1); Viṣṇudh. II. 136. 1, 135. 6a and 7a, 137. 5b-6a, 11a, 7a, 6b and 7b-8a, and 141. 1 occurred in the work of Vṛddha-garga (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 416, 427, 429, 441, 442-3, 443, 444 and 563); Viṣṇudh. I. 85. 34b-35a, 26b-27a, 33b-34a, and 48b-49a, and III. 238. 2, 31, 27, 26, 28, 19 and 32 occurred in the work or works of Parāśara (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 66, 86, 90, 101, 516, 517, 526, 541 and 551); Viṣṇudh. II. 135. 6a and 7a, 156. 1-2 and 5, 137. 7a and 6b, 141. 1, and 134. 14-26 occurred in the work of Bṛhaspati (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 427, 429, 437, 442-3, 443, 563 and 743-4); and so on.

viṣṇudh. III. 86. 139—
prāsāda-lakṣaṇam idaṃ kathitaṃ samāsād
ālokya pūrva-caritaṃ hi pitāmahoktam/
śāstraṃ hitāya nara-sattama mānuṣāṇāṃ
dhāryaṃ tvayā tad atiyatna-pareṇa nityam//

203 Visnudh. II. 72. 43-manur abravīt (=Manu-smṛti 8. 242).

" II. 72. 48-iti svāyambhuvo'bravīt.

,, II. 72. 97-manur abravit (= Manu-smṛti 8. 339).

204 The Viṣṇudharmottara (especially II. 61-131 and III. 226-342) has incorporated a large number of verses from chaps, 2ff. of the Manu-smṛti, as the following list will indicate.

Yājñavalkya-smṛti,²⁰⁵ Nārada-smṛti,²⁰⁶ Viṣṇu-smṛti²⁰⁷ and Parāśara-smṛti.²⁰⁸ It also seems to have incorporated verses from the Smṛti-works

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Visnudh.
                       Manu-smrti
                                          Visnudh.
                                                              Manu-Smrti
 II. 24.3
                    = 7.55.
                                         II. 73.2
                                                           = 11.45.
 II. 26.7
                    = 2.52.
                                         II. 73.7-12
                                                           = 4.209b-211a.
 II. 61.2a, 4a
                    = 7.115a, 116a.
                                                              2120, 213-2140,
 II. 61,42a, 42b-
                    = 8.36a, 30-33a,
                                                              216b, 214b.
    45, 46-48
                                          II. 73.14
                       27-29.
                                                           = 4.215
II. 61.62-63a,
                   = 7.131b-132,
                                                etc.
    64b-67
                                          II. 74.1, 3-11,
                       133b-136.
                                                         } = 11.247-265.
      etc.
                                             13-21
                          etc.
II. 65.37
                    = 8.26.
                                          II. 75.2a, 25a-b = 5.59a, 103.
II. 65.43b, 44a,
                                          II. 79.1b-2a
                   = 7.38a, 39a, 40,
                                                          = 5.123.
                                          II. 85.11, 19
    45, 46-47,
                       43-44, 89-90,
                                                          = 2.31, 36.
    48-49, 50-51,
                                         II. 86.1, 7
                       82-83,
                                87-88,
                                                          = 2.69, 52.
                                         II. 87.15
    52-53, and so
                      and so on.
                                                          = 3.21.
                                          II. 130.3-32
                                                          = 6.1-28a, 29b-31.
                                          II. 131.1-22,
11. 70.6
                    = 8.128
                                                         = 6.33-61, 63-97a.
                                             24-63
II. 70.8, 14b-15a = 7.25, 18 and so
                                              etc.
                                                                 etc.
    and so on
                      on.
                                         III. 228,1
                                                           = 2.69.
II. 72'5, 6-11, -
                   = 8.138,
                                         III. 230,12b-14
                               27-32,
                                                          = 5.5a, 6a, 5b, 7.
    12-13 and so
                       34-35,
                               and so
                                         III. 232, 1a, 2b
                                                          = 5.59a, 61b.
                       on.
                                              etc.
205 Visnudh.
                      Yāi.
                                            Visnudh.
                                                                Yāj.
II. 72, 180b
                    =II. 235a.
                                        II. 105.2-8a, 10b-11a, = I. 271-288a,
                                           10a, 12b-13a, 12a,
                                                                289b-'290a,
II. 72. 182a
                    -cf. II. 224a.
                                           9b,14-16,17b-18b,
II. 72. 182b
                    -cf. II.239a.(Yāj.
                                           19-22,23,24-25.
                       reads 'tripano
                                                etc.
                                        III. 231.3a, 4b-5a, | = 1.188a, 114
                      damah').
                                            6b-7
                                                                186-7a.
II. 72.183,184,185,7 = II.240,279,282,
                                        III. 232. 6b-7a
                                                            =III. 23.
   186-7, 188,189.
                      295-6,303,306.
                                             etc.
                                                                etc.
206 Visnudh.
                                         Visnudh.
                                                               Nārada-smrti
                        Nārada-smṛti
III. 324. 3
                                        III, 325. 3
                                                             =4.90.
                        =1.2,
                                                             =4.92.
        136
                       =1.49a.
                                            ,, 4
                                        III. 327. 1-4a
                                                             =4.149-150,
        14b-17a
                       =1.52-55a.
                                                               151b-152.
        34b-35a
                       =4.35b-36a.
     ,,
                                        III. 328, 67b-68a
                                                             =4.337.
                       =3.18.
     ,, 45
                                             ,, 69
                       =4.84.
                                                             =4.338.
III. 325. 1
                       =4.85.
                                                                etc.
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207 For instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 142. 13b-14a (etāni śrāddha-kālāni etc.) is the same as Viṣṇu-smṛti 76. 2 (etāṃs tu śrāddha-kālān vai etc.).

For connections between the Visnudharmottara and the Visnu-smrti as regards śrāddha, see W. Caland, Altindischer Ahnenkult, Leyden 1893, pp. 68 and 112. Cf. also Abegg, Der Pretakalpa, pp. 5ff.

208 Parāśara-smṛti 4. 30 (naṣṭe mṛte pravrajite etc.) is the same as Viṣṇudh.

of Devala²⁰⁹ and Bṛhaspati,²¹⁰ which are now lost. Viṣṇudh. III. 17-31 are clearly based on Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, from which a large number of verses has been retained in these chapters.²¹¹ Similarly, the chapters on citra-sūtra,²¹² āyurveda, basti-cikitsā, aśva-cikitsā etc. must have been based on older works. In its chapters on alamkāra the Viṣṇudharmottara often refers to the opinions of ancient writers on poetics (purātana).²¹³ The stories of Lalitikā (or Lalitā), Sāmbarāyaṇī and gajendra-moṣaṇa in Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 167 (verses 2ff.), 175-191 and 192-194 are undoubtedly derived from the same as given in Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 32, 27 and 67 respectively. In narrating these stories the Viṣṇudharmottara not only retains a large number of verses of the Viṣṇudharma but also introduces innovations not found in the

II. 87. 11 and III. 329. 14; Parāśara-smṛti 3. 39 (anātham brāhmaṇam pretam etc.) is the same as Viṣṇudh. II. 76. 2; and so on,

209 For verses common to the Visnudharmottara and the Devala-smrti, see

Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii. pp. 95-96.
210 For instance, the verse 'ekādaśy aṣṭamī ṣaṣṭhī' is ascribed to Bṛhaspati in Smṛṭi-candrikā, IV, p. 47 but to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirṇaya, pp. 190 and 300; the line 'brahmāṇaṃ keśavaṃ śaṃbhuṃ' is ascribed to Bṛhaspati and the Viṣṇudharmottara in the Dacca Univ. Mss of Raghunandana's Āhnika-

tattva; and so on. Nātya-śāstra Visnudh. Nātya-śāstra 211 Visnudh. III. 27.2b-3a, 5b-6a,=23.5, 10,92b-93a, III. 24.1a,2a,3b,5a=8.16b,20a, 22a,24a. 102b-104, 97b, 18b-19a, 21-23a, =8.26a, 25b, 27a,III. 24.6-7a 99a, 108. 24b-25a, 22 etc. etc. etc. =13.13, 20a.=8.38-39.III. 29.36, 37a III, 25.1-2 -cf. 8.40-41. etc. ,, ,, 3-4 5a, 5b, 6b = 8.42b, 44b, 46a. III. 30.2b-3a, 4b-8a=6.39, 42-45. =7.10, 9, 28a. III. 31.2, 3, 11b =9.4-5 and 6b-7a, III. 26. 1-3 -cf. 7.33a. ,, 14a -cf. 9.8a. =6.77-83a,, 54-56 =9.8b-12, 14a, 15a. " 5-9a, 10 etc.

Visnudh. III. 17-31 may be used for solving the textual problems relating to the Nātya-śāstra.

212 The 'citra-sūtra' is mentioned in Dāmodaragupta's Kuttanimata, verse

213 Visnudh. III. 14. 7, 12 and 15.

latter. For instance, it identifies the river Devika with Uma, wife of Hara, 214 elaborates Sambarayani's account with the mention of the names of many of Visnu's manifestations, and says that two Gandharvas named Hāhā and Hūhū were transformed into the elephant and the crocodile by Devala's curse. So, there is no doubt that the Visnudharmottara gives the later versions of these stories. It is probable that Visnudh. I, chaps. 169-170 (on Mandhatr's activities in his previous birth as a Sūdra) and 196 (on the Visnu-panjara-stotra) also are based on Visnudharma, chaps. 82 and 69 respectively. It is needless to multiply examples. It is to be noted that the Visnudharmottara does not utilise Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā, Bhāmaha's Kāvyālamkāra, Dandin's Kāvyādarśa, or any other work written later than 500 A. D. and that although the Visnudharmottara is indebted to earlier authorities for many of its materials, it has not failed to improve considerably upon the borrowed portions by innovations of its own. For instance, in his Adbhutasāgara 215 Vallālasena quotes from the works of Garga, Vrddha-garga, Parāśara and Brhaspati some verses which do not agree, as regards contents, with those of the Visnudharmottara and the principles of dramaturgy, as laid down in the Visnudharmottara, differ on some points from those of the Nāṭya-śāstra.

Of the various types of works known to it, the Viṣṇudharmottara gives us valuable information. It speaks of 'nṛṭya-śāstra', 'gīta-śāstra', 'kalā-sāstra', 'dhanurveda', 'hastyāyurveda', 'aśvāyurveda', 'vṛkṣā-yurveda', 'phala-veda', 'sūda-śāstra' etc. and mentions the four Vedas, the Vedāngas, the Vedāngas, 'the Bhārata (i.e. the Mahābhārata) com-

²¹⁴ Visnudh. I. 167. 15-18, and 207. 55-56.

²¹⁵ See Adbhutasāgara, pp. 98, 236, 410, 429, 471, 559-560.

²¹⁶ Visnudh. III. 73. 49.

²¹⁷ Ibid., II. 91. 11; III. 297. 18.
'Vṛkṣāyurveda' is mentioned in Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanīmata, verse 123.

Viṣṇudh. III. 73. 47. 219 Ibid., II. 24. 23. 'Sūda-śāstra' is also mentioned in Kuṭṭanīmata, verse

^{123.} 220 Visnudh. I. 74. 29-30; II. 22. 129-130; and so on.

²²¹ Ibid., I. 74. 33; II. 22. 131-2.

posed by Dvaipāyana', 222 the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, 223 the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras and the Pāśupatas, 224 a Sūtra work (on hasti-cikitsā) written by Lomapāda, king of Aṅga, 225 and the Nīti-śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas. Hence there is little doubt about the fact that the Sanskrit literature became enriched by various types of works even before the time of composition of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

A large number of chapters is found common to the Visnudharmottara and the Matsya-p., as the following list will show.

Visnudh.	Matsya-p.	Vi	iṣṇudh.	
I. 111-119	=Chaps. 195-203	II.	39	=
	respectively.	II.	40	
I. 145.1-2,	4=204. 2-3, 5.	II.	41	
	-59 = 207. 24b-41.	II.	66-70	
	=Chaps. 115-119			
	respectively.	II.	71. 1-3	3 =
I. 153; 154.	1-6a, 7=Chap. 120.	II.	72.17	b-2
	= 179. 2ff.	II.	133-14	0
II. 24-28	=Chaps. 215-219			
A SAME OF STREET	respectively.	II.	142-14	14
II. 36	= 208. 3-21.			
II. 37	=Chaps. 202-210.	II.	163	
II. 38	=211. 1-13, 28.			
		1		7

Visnudh. Matsya-p.

II. 39 = Chap. 212.

II. 40 = 213. I-13, 17-18.

II. 41 = Chap. 214.

II. 66-70 = Chaps. 221-225

respectively.

II. 71. 1-3 = 226. 1-3.

II. 72. 17b-200 = Chap. 227.

III. 133-140 = Chaps. 228-235

respectively.

II. 142-144 = Chaps. 236-238

respectively.

III. 163 = Chap. 240.

That as regards these common chapters the Matsya-p. is the borrower, can be proved definitely by a number of evidences, some of which are given below.

(i) The contents of Viṣṇudh. I. 129-156 are follows:—Chaps. 129-137 deal with Purūravas's love for Urvasī, chaps. 138-145 with śrāddha and the Pitṛs, chaps. 146 and 147 with vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa and vṛṣotsarga respectively, and chaps. 148-156 with Purūravas's penance

<sup>Ibid., I. 74. 23-28; III. 351. 49.
Ibid., I. 74. 37-39 (vālmikinā tu racitam.../ rāmākhyānam...//); I. 81.
III. 351. 48 (mayā vālmikinā kāryam kāvyam rāmāyanam tathā).
Ibid., I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4.
Ibid., I. 253. 34-35.
Ibid., II. 6. 2.</sup>

in his previous birth for attaining extraordinary physical beauty. Of these, the last group of chapters (i.e. chaps. 148-156) begins thus:—

vajra uvāca-

caritam budha-putrasya mārkandeya mayā śrutam/, śrutah śrāddha-vidhih punyah sarva-pāpa-pranāśanah//, dhenvāh prasūyamānāyāh phalam dāne tathā śrutam/kṛṣṇājina-pradānam ca vṛṣotsargas tathaiva ca//śrutvā rūpam narendrasya budha-putrasya bhārgava/kautūhalam samutpannam tan mamācakṣva pṛcchataḥ//

(chap. 148, verses 1-3).

In these verses there is clear reference to the contents of chaps. 129-137 (on the story of Purūravas, son of Budha), chaps. 138-145 (on śrāddha), chaps. 146-147 (on vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa and vṛṣotsarga), and chap. 130 (verses 3ff., in which Purūravas is said to have possessed uncommon physical beauty). Though in the printed edition of the Viṣṇudharmottara there is no chapter or chapters on 'prasūyamānadhenu-dāna' and 'kṛṣṇājina-dāna', this work was not originally bereft of chapters on these topics. In his Dānasāgara, pp. 531-532 Vallālasena ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' twenty-one metrical lines which deal with kṛṣṇājina-dāna and all of which occur in Matsya-p., chap. 206. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 704-5 and 705-7 Hemādri also ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' two complete chapters on 'madhyama-kṛṣṇājina-dāna' and 'mahā-kṛṣṇājina-dāna' respectively.

The Matsya-p., on the other hand, contains only the story of Purūravas's penance in his previous birth in chaps. 115-120 (which are practically the same as Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 148-153 and verses 1-7 of chap. 154) and deals with prasūyamāna-dhenu-dāna, kṛṣṇājina-dāna and vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa as late as in chaps. 205, 206 and 207 respectively, but it does not contain any chapter on vṛṣotsarga. Yet the opening verses of chap. 115 are the same as those of Viṣṇudh. I. 148 quoted above. It is also to be noted that although in the Matsya-p. the story of Purūravas's love affairs does not immediately precede the story of his penance in his previous birth but occurs very briefly in chap. 24 and śrāddha is dealt with in chaps. 11-22, the opening verses of chap. 115 do not refer to the contents of the intervening chapters (25-114).

The Matsya-p. describes the characteristics of bulls (vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa) fully in the entire chap. 207, but this topic is dealt with partially in in Visnudh. I. 146. 41b-59 (which are the same as Mat. 207. 24b-41). Moreover, in the Visnudharmottara this topic is begun abruptly with the line 'ṛṣabhaḥ sa samudrākhyaḥ satatam kula-vardhanah' (which really forms the second half of the verse 'svetam tu jatharam yasya bhavet pṛṣṭham ca gopateḥ/ṛṣabhaḥ sa samudrākhyaḥ satatam kula-vardhanah//' as found in Mat. 207. 24). But this abrupt beginning and incomplete treatment of the above-mentioned topic in the Visnudharmottara should not be taken to prove that the Visnudharmottara borrowed its verses from the Matsya-p. As a matter of fact, the original Visnudharmottara contained all those verses on vṛṣalakṣaṇa which are now found in Matsya-p., chap. 207. In his Dānasāgara, p. 115 Vallālasena ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' three verses on vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa which do not occur in Viṣṇudh. I. 148 but are the same as Mat. 207. 13-15.

(ii) The story of Purūravas in Matsya-p., chaps. 115-120 ends abruptly, whereas in the Visnudharmottara it is continued through a

few more chapters to its logical conclusion.

(iii) In Matsya-p., chap. 195 (which is practically the same as Visnudh. I. 111), the second verse runs as follows:

mahādevena ṛṣayaḥ śaptāḥ svāyambhuve 'ntare/ teṣām vaivasvate prāpte sambhavam mama kīrtaya//

This verse, as occurring in the Matsya-p., has no preceding story or statement to refer to, whereas in the Visnudharmottara it occurs in chap. 111 of Khanda I and refers to Visnudh. I. 110. 28.

(iv) A textual comparison between the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Matsya-p. shows that the latter work has adapted the above-mentioned chapters of the Viṣṇudharmottara to its own interlocutors often by using unsuitable words. For instance, for Viṣṇudh. I. 148.8 (purūravā madrapatiḥ karmaṇā kena bhārgava/babhūva karmaṇā kena kurūpaś ca tathā dvija//), Mat. 115.9 reads 'purūravā madrapatiḥ... pārthivaḥ/babhūva.....virūpaś caiva sūtaja//; in Viṣṇudh. II. 24. 62 Puṣkara addresses Bhārgava Rāma as 'manuja-śārdūla' ('a tiger among the descendants of Manu, i.e. among men'), and this word ('manuja-śārdūla'), though not applicable to Manu himself, has been retained

in Matsya-p., chap. 215 (verse 88) in which Matsya speaks to Manu; and so on.

(v) The story of Savitri in Visnudh. II. 36-41 naturally follows chaps. 33-35 (on the conduct and duties of chaste women, and the treatment they deserve from the king). But the Matsya-p., though containing this story in chaps. 208-214, has no chapters corresponding to chaps. 33-35 of the Visnudharmottara. Moreover, in chaps. 208-214 the Matsya-p. has a large number of additional verses which are not found in the Visnudharmottara.

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the Matsya-p. borrowed the above-mentioned chapters from the Visnudharmottara.

We shall now try to determine the date of composition of the Visnudharmottara.

This work is quite familiar with the Greek terms 'hibuka', 'kendra', 'lipta', 'sunaphā' etc.227 and mentions 'horā',228 'dreṣkāṇa',229 and the names of the rasis230 and week-days231 in several places. By its mention of Mūlasthāna²³² as a place of Sun-worship as well as of the girdle called 'aviyānga', 233 worn by the Sun-worshippers, it betrays

227 See Visnudh. II. 167ff.

228 Visnudh. I. 83. 47ff.; II. 168ff.; III. 96. 97; and so on.

The occurrence of the term bord in two verses quoted by Varahamihira from Garga shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A.D., but there is no evidence to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A,D.

229 Visnudh. II. 167ff.; III. 96. 97.

230 Visnudh. I. 72, 11, 73. 8ff., 84. 1ff., and 94. 6ff.; II. 18.11; II. 167ff.; III. 319. 38ff.; and so on.

The total absence of the term rasi in all early works down to the time of the Yajnavalkya-smṛti, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the rāśis earlier than the second century A.D.

231 Visnudh. I. 59. 2-5, and 60. 5; II. 47. 4, 50. 68, and 52. 84 and 124; III. 317. 16ff.; and so on.

The earliest dated mention of a week-day has been traced in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D. (See Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89).

232 Visnudh, III. 121. 12.

233 Visnudh. III. 67. 3.

its knowledge of the Persian elements in the method of worshipping the Sun. It utilises, as we have already seen, the language and contents of the Upanṣads, Mahābhārata, Bhagavad-gītā, Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, the astronomical works of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Brhaspati, the Dharmaśāstras of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Parāsara, and the Visnudharma. By its description of 'Purāṇa' as consisting of four Pādas234 it points definitely to the Vāyu-p.235 which only claims to consist of, and is practically divided into, four Padas, viz., Prakriyā, Upodghāta, Anuṣaṅga and Upasaṃhāra. In the story of Purūravas and Urvasī, as given in chaps. 129-137 of Khanda I, it clearly betrays the influence of Kālidāsa's Vikramorvasīya.236 Viṣṇudh. I. 208 contains the description of the hurry and eagerness of women of Rajagrha to have a glance at Bharata when the latter was entering that city. This description bears the unmistakable stamp of the influence of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamsa.237 Hence the Visnudharmottara cannot be earlier than 400 A.D.

Again, the Visnudharmottara has been profusely drawn upon by almost all the Smrti-commentators and Nibandha-writers, viz., Bhava-

234 Visnudh. III. 17. 2b-3-

prakriyā prathamaḥ pādaḥ kathāvastu-parigrahaḥ/
upodghātānuṣaṅgau ca tathā saṃhāra eva ca/,
catuṣpādaṃ hi kathitaṃ purāṇaṃ bhṛgu-nandana//

The first two lines are the same as Vāyu-p. 4. 13. (The Vāyu-p. reads the second line as 'upodghāto'nuṣangaś ca upasaṃhāra eva ca').

235 The Vayu-p. and the Brahmanda-p. were originally the same.

236 The similarity in ideas and expressions between the Visnudharmottara and the Vikramorvasiya will be evident from the following parallel passages.

(a) Viṣṇudh, I. 133. 52.—Before leaving Urvaśī with Purūravas, Rambhā says to the latter:

yathā ceyam sakhī mahyam notkanthām kurute śubhā/ sakhī-janasya svargyasya tathā kāryam tvayānagha//

Cf. Vikramorvaśiya, Act III—citralekhā—tā jahā iam me piasahī saggassa na ukkanthedi taha vaassena kādavvam,

(b) Viṣṇudh. I. 135, 26-33 (in which Purūravas vainly enquires for Urvaśi to beasts, birds and plants).—Cf. Vikramorvaśiya, Act IV.

237 Compare, for instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 208. 10-21a with Raghuvaṃśa VII.

5-12.

deva, Vijñāneśvara, Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Halāyudha, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Sūlapāṇi, Caṇḍeśvara, Vidyāpati, Vācaspati-miśra, Govindānanda, Srīnāthācāryacūḍāmaṇi, Gadādhara, Raghunandana and others. Some of these Smṛti-writers have made their quotations under the title 'Viṣṇu-dharmottara'; some of them (such as Bhavadeva and Vijñāneśvara) have done so under the name of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the speaker in the Viṣṇu-dharmottara); and the rest (such as Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others) have ascribed some of the quoted verses to

238. The verses of 'Mārkaṇḍeya' (the word 'mārkaṇḍeya' being often used in the masculine gender), quoted in the commentaries and Nibandhas, are, except in a very few cases, not found in the present Mārkaṇḍeya-p.

The facts that many of the verses ascribed to 'Markandeya' are found in the Visnudharmottara wherein the sage Mārkandeya is the speaker, that the same verses are sometimes ascribed to the 'Visnudharmottara' in some places (viz., in Kālaviveka, pp. 538 and 539, Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, III. ii. pp. 379-380, and Varşa-kaumudi, p. 103, Tithi-viveka, pp. 6-7; and so on) and to 'Mārkandeya' in others (viz., in Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 289, Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 429, Smrti-candrikā, II, p. 620; Smrti-candrikā, IV, p. 49, Caturvargacintāmaņi, III. ii. pp. 93 and 116; and so on), and that in some places (viz., in Kālaviveka, p. 265, Hāralatā pp. 19 and 29, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, pp. 85-86 and 332, and so on) verses of the Visnudharmottara are quoted with the words 'Viṣṇudharmottare mārkaṇḍeyaḥ', show that 'Mārkaṇḍeya'. to whom these verses are ascribed in the Nibandhas, is, in the great majority of cases, identical with the sage Mārkandeya, the speaker in the Visnudharmottara. In those cases in which the verses ascribed to 'Markandeya' are not found in the Visnudharmottara, the changes in the text of the latter are to be held responsible. As to the few cases in which the verses of 'Markandeya' are found in the Markandeya-p., it may be said that due to a confusion created by the similarity between the name of the sage and the title of the Purāṇa, verses of the Mārkandeya-p, were sometimes wrongly ascribed to 'Mārkandeya' or vice versa. For instance, the verses 'ekabhaktena naktena' and 'śukla-pakṣasya pūrvāhņe', which are ascribed to the 'Mārkandeya-p.' in Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II. i. p. 100 and III. i. p. 320 respectively but are not found in the present Purāṇa of the same title, are ascribed to 'Mārkaṇdeya' (the word 'mārkaṇdeya' being used in the musculine gender) in Caturvarga-cintāmaņi III. ii. pp. 176 and 575 respectively. See also Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 206, Smṛticandrikā, IV, p. 64, Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 109 and II, pp. 88 and 95, and so on, wherein the former verse is ascribed to 'Mārkaņdeya'

'Mārkaṇdeya' and the rest to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. In his account of India Alberūnī refers to and draws upon the present Viṣṇudharmottara on many occasions, and most of these references and quotations have been traced by Bühler in the extant text of this work.239 Kālikā-p., which was written somewhere about Kāmarūpa not later than the first half of the eleventh century A. D., knows and mentions the present Visnudharmottara in its encyclopâedic character.240 So also

239. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 381-410.

Alberūni's references to, and quotations from, the 'Visnudharma' have been traced in the present Visnudharmottara thus:

1 101111	C 1	Vienudharmottara
Viṣṇudharmottara	Sachau, Alberūni's India,	Viṣṇudharmottara
I. 106.29-30. cf. I. 120.2-3. I. 106.1-11. l. 106.10-11 I. 106.21-28. I. 106.21-28.	P. 379 p. 380 pp. 381ff. p. 386 p. 387 p. 398	= I. 73.17-18 and 34-40. = I. 73.21ff. = I. 73.28ff. = I. 81.2-3. = I. 81.4-5. = I. 82.1.
I. 81.1-2. I. 73.14-16. I. 73.13. I. 73.39. I. 83.3-21, and 50.62. I. 72.17b. I. 72.18b-19a. I. 83.3-9. I. 83.3-9.	PP. 398-9 II, p. 2 P. 3 P. 21 p. 64 p. 65 p. 102 pp. 140-1	- cf. I, 73.20ff. = I. 80. 1-9. = I. 81.23-27; and I. 82.6-7. = I. 72.19b-23. = I. 106.12-13. - cf. I. 78.1-2. = I. 29.16b-17. = I. 106.34-41.
	Cf. I.81.28-29. I. 106.29-30. Cf. I. 120.2-3. I. 106.1-11. I. 106.10-11 I. 106.21-28. I. 106.21-28. I. 106.31-32. I. 81.1-2. I. 73.14-16. I. 73.13. I. 73.39. I. 83.3-21, and 50.62. I. 72.17b. I. 72.18b-19a. I. 83.3-9. I. 83.3-9. I. 83.3-9.	Visnudharmottara cf. I.81.28-29. I. 106.29-30. cf. I. 120.2-3. I. 106.10-11 I. 106.21-28. I. 106.21-28. I. 106.31-32. I. 81.1-2. I. 73.14-16. I. 73.13. I. 73.39. I. 83.3-21, and 50.62. I. 72.18b-19a. I. 83.3-9. Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 372 P. 379 p. 380 pp. 381ff. P. 386 p. 387 p. 398 pp. 398-9 II, p. 2 P. 3

In Kālikā-p. 91. 70-71a Mārkaņdeya says: 240

'viṣṇudharmottare pūrvam mayā rahasi bhāṣitam/ rāja-nītim sadācāram veda-vedānga-samgatam// rahasyam satatam visnor vikṣadhvam dvija-sattamāh/'

See also Kālikā-p. 92. 1-2, in which the sages say to Mārkaṇḍeya: samksepatah sadācāro višeso rāja-nītisu/ śrutas tvad-vacanād aurvaņ sagarāya yathoktavān// viṣṇudharmottare tantre bāhulyam sarvatah punah/ drastavyas tu sadācāro drastavyās te prasādatah//

The questions of the date and provenance of the present Kālikā-p. will be discussed fully under 'Kālikā-p.' in Yol. II of the present work.

does the present Nāradīya-p. (I. 94), which refers to the contents of the Visnudharmottara and takes it to be the second part of the Visnu-p. According to Sūlapāṇi, Bālaka and Srīkara knew the Viṣṇudharmottara and utilised its contents in their respective works.241 The spurious Agni-p. (now available in print), which was written, most probably in western Bengal, during the ninth century A.D., has incorporated a large number of chapters and verses from the Visnudharmottara, as a comparison of Agni-p., chaps. 151-172, 218-237, 245 ff. and 259-272 with Visnudh. II, chaps. 80 ff., 76ff., 21ff., 16ff., 15, 124ff., 105ff. and 159ff. will show. In most of these chapters the Agni-p. has retained Puskara as the speaker, but in a few Agni appears in his place; sometimes the Agni-p. rewrites the verses briefly by retaining as much as possible the language of the Visnudharmottara; and although, following the Visnudharmottara, the Agni-p. retains the old order of the Naksatras from Krttikā of Bharanī in all other places, it replaces this order with the new one in verse 8 of chap. 219 in spite of the mention of the old order in the corresponding passage (viz.; II. 22. 20-24) of the Viṣṇudharmottara. The Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotrabhāṣya, ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya,242 names and draws upon the Viṣṇudharmottara as well as the Visnudharma. From all these references, quotations and common passages it is evident that by the middle of eighth century A. D. the present Visnudharmottara attained great

241 Durgotsava-viveka, p. 16-

'astami navami-viddhā navami cāstami-yutā/ ardha-nārīśvara-prāyā umā-māheśvarī tithih//'

ity āśvinādhikātīya-viṣṇudharmottara-vacana-mātra-darśinā bālakenātra viṣaye pūrvadine navamī-kṛtyam yugmād iti yad uktam

'bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi-visargāntāś ca yāḥ kriyāḥ' ityādi-vacanena virodhāt taddheyam/ viṣṇudharmottara-vacanam tu sandhi-

pūjā-viṣayam iti śrīkara-miśrāḥ/

According to P. V. Kane, Balaka 'flourished before 1100 A.D.' and Srikara 'must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A.D.' and probably in the ninth century.—See Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, I, pp. 283-4 and 266-8. 242 See Visnu-sahasra-nāma-stotra-bhāsya, p. 114, and pp. 22, 30, 136. According to S. K. Belvalkar, the ascription of this commentary to Samkarācārya is more or less debatable. - See Belvalkar, Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedanta Philosophy, pp. 218-9.

popularity as a highly authoritative work in all parts of India. It has already been mentioned that the Matsya-p. has borrowed a large number of chapters from the Visnudharmottara. Hence the Visnudharmottara must have been written not later than 600 A.D. On p. 460 of his Kālaviveka Jīmūtavāhana ascribes to the 'Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma' a few verses which have Mārkandeya and Vajra as the interlocutors and are the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 161. 1-8; and on p. 464 he quotes two more verses from a 'Visnudharmottaramṛta,' but these two verses do not occur in the Visnudharmottara. The titles of these two works as well as the nature of the quoted verses show that the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta, which must have preceded Jīmūtavāhana by a few centuries, were distinct works written on the basis of the Visnudharmottara. Hence the Visnudharmottara must have preceded the Brhad-visnudharma and the Visnudharmottaramrta by a few centuries, otherwise it could not be recognised as an authoritative work at the time of composition of these two works. In his commentary on the Parasara-smṛti Mādhavācārya ascribes to 'Kātyāyana' a verse which mentions the 'Visnudharmottara' along with the name of Markandeya as the speaker and refers to the contents of Visnudh. I. 140. 19a.243 We do not know definitely who this Katyayana was. He might have been identical the author of the Chandoga-parisista or with that either with of a Dharma-śāstra which is now lost. Whoever this Kātyāyana might have been, he could not be later than 600 A. D. It has already been said that the Visnudharmottara has not utilised Bhāmaha's Kāvyālamkāra and Dandin's Kāvyādarśa. These two works mention a much greater number of Alamkaras and a considerably smaller number of Prahelikas and thus indicate the comparatively

tad āha kātyāyanaḥ-

'viṣṇudharmottare vāpsu mārkaṇḍeyena yaḥ smṛtaḥ/ sa yadāpāṃ samīpe syāc chrāddham jñeyo vidhis tadā//'

This verse refers to Visnudh. I. 140. 19a which runs as follows: anāhitāgniś caupasade agny-abhāve tathāpsu vā/

²⁴³ Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii. p. 413—apsu agnaukaraṇam jala-samīpe śrāddha-karaṇe veditavyam/

early origin of the Visnudharma.244 Nay, there is ample evidence to prove definitely that both Bhamaha and Dandin knew the Visnudharmottara and used it in their respective works.245 In describing the method of building temples in chaps. 86-95 of Khanda III the Visnudharmottara makes no mention of the three styles of architecture popularly known as Nagara, Dravida and Vesara, of which the first two developed into distinction after the Gupta period. According to some commentators, Brahmagupta wrote his Sphuta-brahma-siddhanta in 628 A.D. on the basis of the 'Paitamaha-siddhanta' as found in the Visnudharmottara. This view of the commentators, which most probably owed its origin to some tradition as well as to the lines common to Brahmagupta's work and the Visnudharmottara,246 seems to be highly plausible because of the fact that the Visnudharmottara does not refer to or utilise the works of Varahamihira or any other later author on astrology and astronomy. As a matter of fact, we have not been able to find any work, written later than 500 A.D., which has been utilised in the Visnudharmottara. Visnudh. I. 9 gives the names of the tribes living in the different parts of India but does not mention the Hūṇas. On the other hand, it speaks of the Sakas and the Yavanas as living in the south-western and western parts respectively. The Visnudharmottara believes in 'thousands of manifestations' (prādurbhāva-sahasrāṇi) of Viṣṇu and gives shorter or longer lists of these (including Matsya, Kürma, Varāha, Nṛ-varāha, Vāmana, Narasimha, Bhārgava Rāma, Dattātreya, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Hamsa, Aśva, Mayura etc.) in numerous places; but it does not refer to any group of 'ten incarnations', nor does it mention the Buddha anywhere except

Alamkāras was multiplied in later times, but the Prahelikās, which were once very widely popular, came to lose their importance as literary compositions and experienced a gradual decrease in their number.

²⁴⁵ For a datailed treatment (in Bengali) of the influence of the Visnudhar-mottara on Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin see Our Heritage, II, 1954, pp. 375-404, and III, 1955.

²⁴⁶ For instance, the line 'sarvarkṣa-parivartaiś ca nākṣatra iti cocyate' is ascribed to the Brahma-siddhānta in Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 741 but to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirṇaya, p. 63, Varṣa-kaumudī, p. 224, Smṛti-tattva, I, pp.740-1, and so on.

in III. 351 (verse 54) which is most probably spurious. It should be mentioned here that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Visnu not very much earlier than 500 A.D.247 The Visnudharmottara names the Naksatras on many occasions, and it does so invariably in the order from Krttika to Bharani,218 which, as the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the latest books of the Mahābhārata,249 Varāhamihira's Brhat-samhitā indicate, held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

From all the evidences adduced above it is clear that the Visnudharmottara cannot be dated earlier than 400 A.D. and later than 500 A.D. Bühler also is of opinion that 'the date of its composition cannot be placed later than about 500 A.D.'250 This early date of the Visnudharmottara is fully supported by its non-Tantric character as well as by the frequent use of the word 'pradurbhava' instead of 'avatāra' which occurs only in two places (viz., in I. 172. 56 and III. 353.8).

Although the numerous cross-references in the Visnudharmottara²⁵¹ indicate that the above-mentioned general date may be taken to be that

247 See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 41-42.

According to M. Winternitz, the Visnudharmottara was 'compiled between 628 and 1000 A.D.' (see Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p.580). Stella Kramrisch is of opinion that this work 'cannot date earlier than the 5th century A.D.' and later than Sankarācārya. (See Journal of the Department of Letters, XI, p. 3).

251 For instance, Visnudh. I. 111. 1 refers to l. 110. 28; I. 129. 1 refers to I. 128. 32; I. 148. 1-3 refer to the contents of I. 129-147; I. 148. 3a refers to I. 130. 3ff.; I. 165, 1 refers to I. 163. 8; I. 173. 1 refers to I. 170. 13; I. 197. 1-3 refer to I, chaps. 128ff., chap. 110 and chaps. 117-121; II. 1. 1-2 refer to I. 201-269; II. 1. 6 refers to I. 70; II. 1. 7 refers to I. 72-73; II. 99. 1 refers to II. 95-97; II. 99. 2 refers to II. 53; III. 60, 2 refers to III. 47; III. 63. 2 refers to III. 46; III. 67. 1 refers to III. 56 and 52; III. 70. 1 refers to III. 50 and 51; III. 71. 2 refers to III, chaps. 56, 52, 47 and 50; III. 73.18 refers to III. 77; III. 73. 24 refers to III. 82; III. 83.5 refers to III. 25; III. 83.8 refers to

²⁴⁸ Visnudh. I. 59. 6-15; 82. 22-33; 83. 13-21; 91. 11-23; 95. 54-99; 99. 11-24; 101. 5-14; 102. 11-23; 142. 37 (kṛttikādi-bharaṇyantaṃ); II. 22. 20-24; III. 317. 20-27; 318. 1-32; and so on.

²⁴⁹ Mbh XIII, chaps. 64, 89 and 110.

²⁵⁰ Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 408.

of the great majority of its chapters, there are certainly some extracts and even complete chapters which are spurious. For instance, Visnudh. 1. 105.5-20 (in which Pulastya speaks to a Brahmin named Dalbhya on Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā) and I. 146. 1-41a (in which Pulastva's speech to Dālbhya on the ways of release from rebirths-samsāra-mukti-hetuis followed by an interlocution between Kṛṣṇa and Yudhisthira) must have been added at a comparatively late date. These verses begin abruptly with the words 'dalbhya uvaca', although nothing is said in any of the preceding verses about Dalbhya and Pulastya; and their subjectmatter is quite unconnected with those of verses 1-4 of chap. 145 and verses 41b ff. of chap. 146. As a matter of fact, they create a serious breach in the topics of the chapters and verses preceding and following them. The spurious character of these verses is further shown definitely by the facts that they occur neither in the Matsya-p. (although it contains verses 1-2 and 4 of chap. 145 and verses 41b-59 of chap. 146 of Visnudh. I) nor in the Ms of the Visnudharmottara noticed by H.P. Shastri²⁵² and that their subject-matter is not mentioned in Visnudh. I. 148. 1-3 which refer to the topics dealt with in the preceding chapters (129-147). As the Visnudharma contains a good number of consecutive chapters dealing with the same topics and also others and having the same interlocutors as those of the verses mentioned above,253 it is undoubted that somebody took most of these verses from the Visnudharma, adapted them to the interlocution between Vajra and Mārkandeya, and then inserted them into the Visnudharmottara after the Matsya-p. had plagiarised chapters and verses from it.

Similarly, Viṣṇudh. III. 215-220 (on Sugati-dvādaśī-vrata, Sugatipaurņamāsī-kalpa, Santānāṣṭamī-vrata, Asi-dhārā-vrata, Ananta-dvādaśī-

III. 26ff.; III. 85. 57 refers to III. 76; III. 101 and III. 116. 1 refer to the 'Samkara-gītā' in Khanda I; and so on.

252 Shastri, Notices, II, pp. 164-172, No. 190.

In this Ms, chap. 145 deals with 'śrāddha-deśānukīrtana', chap. 146 with 'vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa', and chap. 147 with 'vṛṣotsarga-vidhi'. These chapters correspond respectively to chaps. 144, 146 (verses 41b to the end) and 147 of the printed ed. of the Visnudharmottara and do not deal with Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā etc. 253 For the chapters of the Visnudharma in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya and for their contents, see above under 'Visnudharma',

vrata and Brahma-dvādaśī-vrata) must be later additions. These six chapters have Pulastya and Dālbhya as the interlocutors and form a distinct section ending with the words 'samāptaḥ pulastya-dālbhya-saṃvādaḥ'. They do not occur in the Matsya-p., and of them the first three and the fifth agree with Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 4, 5, 7 and 8 respectively, in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya. There is no doubt that the Viṣṇudharmottara derived these chapters from the Viṣṇudharma.

As regards the provenance of the Visnudharmottara it can be said that this work must have been compiled either in Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Punjab. The evidences supporting this view are as follows.

- (i) The law of inheritance (with regard to the right of the father and the son to the property inherited from the grandfather), as given in the Viṣṇudharmottara, 254 is the same as that of the Mitākṣarā school.
- (ii) The incidents of most of the stories given in the Visnudharmottara have been located in the western part of Northern India, especially in or about the land of the five rivers.²⁵⁵
- (iii) Camels have been mentioned in connection with donation
- (iv) Viṣṇudh. III. 314 mentions different kinds of rice, of which Rakta-śāli (which is a variety of Sāli rice) is said to be the best.
- (v) In giving an account of the distribution of tribes in India, the Visnudharmottara (I. 9) divides this country into several parts, viz., central, eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern. The localities, comprised in these parts, show that the author of the Visnudharmottara must have lived somewhere about the land of the 'five rivers'.
 - paitāmahe tv asvatantraḥ pitā bhavati dharmataḥ/,
 pitāmahārjite vitte pituḥ putrasya cobhayoḥ//
 svāmyaṃ tu sadṛśaṃ jñeyaṃ putraś ced guṇavān bhavet/

255 Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 20, 148, 162, 164, 167-170, and so on.

256 Visnudh. III. 301. 32, and 312. 5.

- (vi) The rivers Sarayū, Yamunā, Ikṣumatī, Sarasvatī, Dṛṣadvatī, Devikā, Sindhu, Vitastā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvatī, Vipāśā and Satadru, especially the last seven, have been mentioned and praised as divine on many occasions.²⁵⁷ For instance, the Devikā²⁵⁸ and the Vitastā²⁵⁹ have been identified with 'Umā, wife of Saṃkara', and the Irāvatī, Satadru and Sarasvatī have been called 'devī'.²⁶⁰ As a matter of fact, the author of the Viṣṇudharmottara seems to have created occasions for praising these rivers whenever possible.
- (vii) In Viṣṇudh. I. 162. 61-65 the meeting places of the following rivers have been described as highly sacred:—(a) Gaṅgā and Sarayū, (b) Gaṅgā and Soṇa, (c) Gaṅgā and Ikṣumatī, (d) Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (e) Gomatī and Sarayū, (f) Kauśikī and Gaṇḍakī, (g) Vipāśā and Devahradā, (h) Vipāśā and Satadru, (i) Sindhu and Irāvatī, (j) Candrabhāgā and Vitastā, and (k) Sindhu and Vitastā.
- (viii) In Viṣṇudh. I. 162. 33-35 the confluence of the Candra-bhāgā and the Tauṣī (a small river in Kashmir) is praised as follows:—

sā kadācin mayā sārdham tauṣim nāma nadīm yayau/ tasyāś ca samgamaḥ puṇyo yatrāsīc candrabhāgayā//, candrabhāgā saric-chreṣṭhā yatra sītāmalodakā/, mahādeva-jaṭā-jūṭe gaṅgā nipatitā purā// candreṇa bhāgato nyastā candrabhāgā smṛtā tataḥ/ tat-kāla-tapta-salilā tauṣī tatrārka-nandinī//,

(ix) The sacred lake Bindusaras has been mentioned more than once²⁶¹ and said to have been created by the drops of water of the Gangā when she was falling on Siva's head.²⁶²

258 Visnudh. I. 11, 10-11; 167. 15-16; and 207. 55-56.

259 Visnudh. I. 164, 23-24.

260 Visnudh. I. 11. 15, 16 and 18.

261 Viṣṇudh. I, 19. 19; I. 80. 18; II. 22. 159; and so on.

262 Viṣṇudh. I. 19. 18-19—

tasyāḥ patantyā ye kecid bindavaḥ kṣitim āgatāḥ/

taiḥ kṛtaṃ pṛthivi-pāla tadā hindusaraḥ śubham//

²⁵⁷ Visnudh. I. 11; I. 69. 11-13; I. 164. 23-26; I. 167; I. 170. 4ff.; I. 207. 40-65; I. 215. 44-52; II. 22. 158, 163 and 168-171; III. 125. 14ff.

- (x) Viṣṇudh. I. 139 states that Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha, raised the earth after killing Hiraņyākṣa, and stationed himself on the Varaha-parvata (in Kashmir), and that it was at this place that the custom of offering śrāddha to the deceased was first introduced by him in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.
- (xi) A study of the Visnudharmortara shows that the author or authors of this work had an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Kashmir as well as of the northern part of the Punjub. In Visnudh. III. 125. 10 Kashmir has been mentioned as a seat of Visnu.

From the evidences adduced above it is highly probable that the Visnudharmottara was composed somewhere in Southern Kashmir. Bühler and Winternitz also take it to be a work of Kashmir. 263

The Visnudharmottara is avowedly a Vaisnava work claiming to deal with the 'various duties of the Vaisnavas'.264 It belongs to the Pāncarātras and is not 'a production of the Bhagavata sect' as Bühler takes it to be.285 It recommends the Pancaratra method of Visnuworship, adds great importance to the due observance of 'pañca-kāla',266 holds the scriptures of the Pancaratras in high esteem,267 and extols one who honours, or makes gifts to, those who are versed in these scriptures.268 According to the Visnudharmottara,269 Nārāyana is the highest deity and Supreme Brahma (param brahma). He is the original source of both matter and spirit. For the sake of creation he takes to guṇas and appears as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Hara. Viṣṇu, who carries on the work of protection with the help of Laksmi, exists in different parts of the universe by assuming different forms through māyā. In the world of mortals he resides with Lakṣmī in Svetadvīpa

²⁶³ Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 383. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p. 580.

Viṣṇudh. I. 1. 16 and 23—vaiṣṇavān vividhān dharmān; I. 1. 19—viṣṇudharman sanatanan.

²⁶⁵ Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 382.

²⁶⁶ Visnudh. I. 6. 40; I. 61-65; and so on.

²⁶⁷ Visnudh. I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4; and so on.

²⁶⁸ Visnudh. I. 58. 10 and III. 155. 6.

For an idea of Vaiṣṇava theology, see especially Viṣṇudh.I, chaps. 2,6,52, 58, 63 (verses 34-40), 139 (verses 19-22), and so on.

which is said to be situated in the ocean of milk lying on the east of the mountain Meru. The Visnudharmottara calls Nārāyaṇa 'caturātman' and believes in the doctrine of Vyūha as expounded in the Pāńcarātra Samhitās.270 It states that by persistently worshipping Visnu with absolute devotion (ekānta-bhāva) according to the Pāñcarātra method, one can pass to Švetadvīpa after death, reside there for long in a divine form, and then attain final emancipation by entering Vasudeva after passing successively through the Sun (aditya-mandalam), Brahmā, Aniruddha, Pradyumna and Samkarsana. It lays special stress on image-worship²⁷¹ and recommends to the Visnu-worshippers both the Vedic mantras (viz., savitrī etc.) and the sectarian ones ('om namo nārāyanāya' and 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' of eight and twelve syllables respectively) but says that women and Sūdras are allowed to use the latter mantras only.272 As it regards Visnu as 'sarva-devamaya' and 'sarva-rūpadhara,'273 it recommends the vows and worship of other deities also and thereby tries to infuse the worshippers of these deities with Vaisnava ideas. It looks upon Krsna as one of the manifestations of Visnu and seems to add little importance to cowherd Kṛṣṇa (of Vṛṇdāvana), who is mentioned very briefly on two occasions only.274 It adds special importance to the Pāśupatas, whose scriptures it mentions along with those of the Pancaratras in more places than one,275 but it subordinates Samkara to Nārāyaṇa. So, it seems that the Pāncarātras had the Pāsupatas as their most powerful rivals.

The Visnudharmottara is practically free from Tantric influence. It advises the Vaisnavas to worship Visnu and other deities in images, pictures, altars, pitchers (full of water), or lotuses (drawn on the

270 For clear exposition of the doctrine of Vyūha, see F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā, pp. 27ff.

271 Visnudh. I. 65. 32sākāre baddha-lakṣas tu śūnyam śaknoti cintitum/ anyathā tu sukasṭam syān nirālambasya cintanam//

See also Visnudh. III. 108, 26-27.

272 Visnudh. I. 155, 27-28; I. 157, 16-17; I. 163, 8-11; and so on.

Visnudh. III. 126. 3. 273

274 Vișnudh. III. 85. 71fl., and 106. 117-125.

275 Visnudh. I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133-4; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4; and so on.

ground)²⁷⁶ and recommends the use of Vedic or Purāṇic mantras or both in vows and worship. But it does not recognise the Tantric 'yantra' as a medium of worship, nor does it prescribe the use of Tantric mantras. The Tantric bījas, found in some of the stotras and kavacas contained in the Viṣṇudharmottara,²⁷⁷ are most probably due to the influence of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, which the Viṣṇudharmottara follows in form and ideas.

Although the Viṣṇudharmottara decries the Pāṣaṇḍas as extremely unholy and detestable, it seems to have been influenced by Buddhism. It recommends the worship of Aiḍūka, Dharma and Vyoman and describes their images. ²⁷⁸ By its recognition of Mayūra, ²⁷⁹ Haṃsa ²⁸⁰ etc. as manifestations of Viṣṇu and by its statement that whenever there is decline of dharma, Vāsudeva is born, according to necessity, among gods, men, Gandharvas, serpents, birds, or others and behaves like those creatures among whom he is born, ²⁸¹ the Viṣṇudharmottara reminds us of the Jātaka stories.

The Visnudharmottara is written mostly in verse, but some of its chapters, or parts thereof, are written in prose. Regarding the language of this work it may be said that like many other Purāṇas it contains a number of ungrammatical forms. For instance, it has 'vartatā' for 'vartamānena' (I. 1.14), 'yatrastham' for 'yatra tiṣṭhantam' (I. 4.38), 'tatrastham' for 'tatra tiṣṭhantam' (I. 6.58 and 61), 'sandhyāsaha' for 'sandhyayā saha' (I. 26.8), 'prathame' for 'prathamam' (I. 139.1), 'duhitām' for 'duhitaram' (I. 252.8), 'patnayaḥ' for 'patnyaḥ' (III. 67.15a and III. 103.21), and so on.

276 For the different mediums of worship see Visnudh. II. 90. 9, II. 153. 6, II. 158. 3, and so on. For 'padma', see Visnudh. II. 44. 17ff., II. 47. 26ff., II. 50. 20ff. and 77ff., and II. 54. 4.

277 See Visnudh. I, chaps. 137, 196, 238, and so on,

278 See Visnudh. III, chaps. 84, 77 and 75.

279 Visnudh. I. 188, 7 and 9.

280 Visnudh. I. 180. 8; I. 190. 19; III. 118. 7; III. 119. 9; and so on.

281 Visnudh. I. 38. 10-13a and I. 172. 8-10.

282 See Visnudh. I. 237 (partly); II. 166-174 (Paitāmaha-siddhānta); III, chaps. 6, 18-19, 32, 36, 95 (partly), 97-101, 109-117, 344 (partly), 346 (partly), 350 (partly), 352 (partly), and 355 (partly).

3. THE NARASIMHA-PURANA

The present Narasimha-purana, 283 which is also called Nrsimha-(or Nārasimha-) purāna, is one of the oldest and most important of the extant Vaisnava Upapuranas. It begins with a salutation to Narasimha and states that once, in the month of Magha, some Vedaknowing sages came with their disciples to Prayaga from different

283 Edited by Uddhavācārya and published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay. Second edition, Bombay 1911.

This is a very careless edition based on three Mss which have been referred to simply as क, ख and ग, but of which no information or description has been given by the editor.

In this edition, the chapter immediately following chap. 10 is called eleventh at the beginning but twelfth at the end. As a matter of fact, chaps. 11 and 12 have been combined without any demarcation, though Ms n says that chap. 12 begins from verse 54.

Though I am fully conscious of the fact that no serious chronological deduction should be based on this worthless edition, the absence of any better, or even a second, edition of this Purana has compelled me to utilise it here. I have, however, consulted a number of Mss of this work and have not used any evidence which is not supported at least by most of these Mss.

For Mss of this Purana see

(1) Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 1-5, No. 1020.

[This Ms, which consists of 63 chapters and was found at Navadvipa, is written in Bengali characters and dated Saka 1567. It begins as follows:-

om namo nrsimhāya/ tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra-jvalat-pāvaka-locana/ vajrādhika-nakha-sparśa divya-simha namo'stu te//

nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayorah-paripatad-asṛg-aruṇikṛta-gātrah/ himakara-girir iva gairika-gātro naraharir aharahar avatu sa hy asmān//

himavad-vāsinah sarve munayo veda-pāragāh/ trikālajñā mahātmāno naimiṣāraṇya-vāsinaḥ'// &c &c

It ends thus: netrair mārtaņda-caņdais tribhir anala-sikhā nyagvahadbhih pradiptah/ pāyād vo nārāsiṃhaḥ kara khara-nakharair bhinna-daityaś ciradyaḥ/ kim kim simhas tatah kim nara-sadréa-vapur deva citram grhitā naivam dhik konvajived drutam upanayatām so'pi satyam harīśah/, cāpam cāpam nakhāngam jhatiti daha daha karkasatvam nakhānām ity evam daitya-nātham nija-nakha-kuļiśair jaghnivān yah saroṣāt//

parts of India (viz., Himālaya, Naimiṣāraṇya, Arbudāraṇya, Puṣkarāranya, Mahendra mountain, Vindhya mountain, Dharmaranya, Dandakāraņya, Srīśaila, Kurukṣetra, Kaumāra-parvata, Pampā etc), had their bath in the holy Ganges, and saw Bharadvaja in his hermitage. When,

iti śrinarasimhapurāņe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahmasvarūpiņa idam ekam sunispannam dhyeyo nārāyaņah sadā narānyadevāt param asti kimcit/ śrīnarasimhapurāṇam samāptam//63//

The list of its contents, as given by Mitra, shows that it lacks the story of Dhruva as occurring in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed edition; the story of Prahlada as given in chaps. 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43 and 44 (verses 1-13) of the printed edition; the description of the characteristic evils of the Kali age as given in chap. 54, verses 8-61 of the printed edition; as well as chaps. 64 (on the interlocution of Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory of Nārāyaṇa) and 68 (on the glorification of the Narasimha-p.) of the printed edition.

It also seems to lack the story of the Pandavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras on the bank of the Revā for carrying away Draupadī by force (as given in chap. 33, verses 15-85 and chap. 34, verse 1 of the printed ed.); and the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya' (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.).

It inserts a chapter on the praise of holy places (tīrtha-praśamsā) in Ayodhyā immediately after the chapters on Rāma-prādurbhāva.]

(2) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 82-83, Nos. 138-139.

[(i) No. 138, which consists of 62 chapters and is written in Devanāgarī script, begins as follows:-

nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya etc. tapta-hāṭaka-keśānta jvalat-pāvaka-locana/ vajrādhika-nakha-sparśa divya simha namo'stu te// pātu vo narasimhasya nakha-lāngala-kotayah/ hiranya-kasipo vraksa asrkkaddamamārunāh / / homabaddhāgninah sarve munayo veda-pāragāh/ trikālajñā mahātmāno naimiṣāraņyavāsinah//

but its end and final colophon are not given by Aufrecht.

Aufrecht's description of its contents shows that it not only lacks, like Mitra's Ms, the stories of Dhruva and Prahlada and the description of the characteristics of the Kali age, but also the topics on Yoga (as found in chap. 61 of the printed ed.), and the enumeration of tirthas (as found in chaps. 65-67 of the printed ed.).

It also seems to lack the story of the killing of the demons Bahuroman

after mutual greetings, they were engaged in 'talks about Kṛṣṇa' (kṛṣṇāśritāḥ kathāḥ), there arrived a Sūta named Lomaharṣaṇa, who was a disciple of Vyāsa and was versed in the Purāņas (purāņajña). After Lomaharsana had been duly received by the sages, Bharadvaja thanked him for having narrated to them the Samhita named Varaha (i.e. the Varāha-purāna) during the great sacrifice instituted by Saunaka and then wishing to hear from him the 'Paurana-samhita named Narasimha' put to him the following questions for detailed treatment:

- (1) Whence did this universe, with its moving and stationary objects, originate? Who preserves it? And where will it go after dissolution?
- (2) What is the extent of the earth?
- What acts please Narasimha?
- How does creation begin, and how does it end?

and Sthulasiras by the Pāṇḍavas, and the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra.

The story of Rāma-prādurbhāva is given in this Ms in five chapters as against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed. (See also Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713, described below, which also gives in five chapters the contents of chaps. 47-52 of the printed ed.).

It does not insert any chapter on the praise of holy places in Ayodhya.

(ii) No. 139, which is written in Devanāgarī, is generally the same as the above Ms but contains chaps, 65-67 (on tirthas) of the printed ed.]

(3) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1211-14, Nos. 3375-79.

[(i) Of these five Mss, the first (Cat. No. 3375), which was copied in Devanāgarī script in 1798 A. D., consists of 67 chapters. It begins with the verses 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vidalita- (v.l. -vilikhita-)-dititanayorah-' (with slight variations in readings) and ends thus: -

nṛsimhāsya-mahādeva-pūjite bhakta-vatsale/ loka-nāthe prabhau tena trailokya-pūjito bhavet// yo narasimha-vapur asthitah pura hitāya lokasya diteh sutam yudhi/ nakhaih sutiksnair vidadāra vairinam divaukasām tam praņamāmi keśavam / /

iti śrinrsimhapurāņe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini nāma sattīrthavarnano nāmādhyāyaḥ//

It lacks chaps, 64 and 68 of the printed ed.

As Eggeling does not give the contents of the chapters, it is not known

- What are the four Yugas? How are these to be reckoned. (5)and what are their characteristics?
- What will be the condition of people during the Kali age? (6)
- How is Narasimha to be worshipped, and what places, (7) mountains and rivers are sacred to him?
- How were the gods, Manus, Vidyadharas and others first (8) created?
- Which kings were sacrificers, and who attained the highest (9) success?

The Sūta consented to narrate the 'Nārasimha Purāṇa.' Consequently, he saluted his teacher Vyāsa, through whose favour he learnt definitely whether this Ms also lacks the stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda, the story of the Pandavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthulasiras, the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra, and the description of the evils of the Kali age. It is also not known whether it inserts a chapter on holy places in Ayodhya.

(ii) The next two Mss (Cat. Nos. 3376-77), which also are written in Devanāgarī and of which the second one lacks the first Adhyāya, are practically the same as the preceding Ms. Their concluding verses are (with some variations in readings) the same as those of the Ms noticed by Mitra, and their colophon is as follows: -

iti śrīnarasimhapurāne ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahmasvarūpiņi idam ekam sunispannam dhyeyo nārāyaņah sadā/na vāsudevāt param

asti kimcit//iti narasimha-purāṇam samāptam//

(iii) The fourth Ms (Cat. No. 3378) is written in Devanagari by different hands. It was copied in about 1500-1600 A.D., its last five folios being supplied in 1789 A.D. It begins with the verse 'nakha-mukha-vilikhitaditi-tanayorah-'. In the modern portion of this Ms the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory of Nārāyaṇa (as occurring in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) are given.

(iv) The fifth Ms (Cat. No. 3379-on Rāma-prādurbhāva) is written in Devanāgarī and divided into six sections named after the six Kāndas (ending with the Lanka-kanda) of the Ramayana. It is practically the same as chaps.

47-52 of the printed ed.]

(4) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 29-30 (Ms No. 36) and pp. 184-5 (Ms No. 298). The second Ms has been numbered again as 304.

the 'Purāṇas,' and then began to deal with the five Purāṇa-topics (viz., primary creation, secondary creation, etc.) by way of answering all the

[(i) Ms No. 36 consists of 63 chapters and is written in Bengali characters. It is 'not old'. It begins with the verses 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilasita-diti-tanayoraḥ-' and ends thus:

prasanne deva devese sarva-pāpa-kṣayo bhavet/
pakṣiṇaḥ pāpa-baddhās te muktim yānti parām gatim//
nakhaiḥ sutikṣṇair vvidadāra vairiṇam
divaukaṣām tam praṇamāmi keśavam//
vyāsṛgbhūdbhinnabhāsvatpṛthulalıtalaṭācchāditā kintvamārgaḥ/
pātālam prāpta-pādaḥ prakharatara-nakha-śrotaso nārasiṃhaḥ//
kara-khara-nakharaiḥ bhinna-vṛtyāś ciram vaḥ//
kim kim siddhas tat kinvaḥ sadṛśa-vapumeṭava citram gṛhīto
nevādhikaḥ so'pi jīvedratamapanayatām sopi nityam harīśaḥ/
cāpam ajasragaṇair daśarjaghnivān yaḥ sa roṣate//

iti śrīnarasimhapurāne triṣaṣṭitamo'dhyāyaḥ samāptam narasimha-purānam// Like Mitra's Ms and like the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713 described below, this Ms lacks, besides chaps. 41-43 and 68 of the printed ed., the following portions of the latter: Nar 15. 7b-16; 16. 1-4a; 31. 1-97; 32. 20b-21; 33. 1-4a and 15-85; 34. 1; 40. 60b-61a; 44. 1-13; and so on.

- (ii) Ms No. 298 (or No. 304) is an old one written in Bengali script and consisting of 67 chapters. It begins with the verse 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and ends with the chapter dealing with the 68 holy places sacred to Viṣṇu (vaiṣṇavāṣṭaṣaṣṭi=chap. 65 of the printed ed.). It lacks chaps. 41-43 and 66-68 of the printed ed. and also many others like the immediately preceding Ms and the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713 described below.]
 - (5) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 711-13, Nos. 4076-81.
- [(i) No. 4076.—It is written in Bengali script and dated Saka 1617, It consists of 64 chapters, of which the 63rd chapter is named 'Tirtha-yātrā-praśaṃsā' (=chap. 66 of the printed ed.). The Catalogue gives us no information regarding the contents of the different chapters.

(ii) No. 4076A.—It is written in Bengali characters and dated Saka 1586. No information regarding the number of its chapters or their contents is given by Shastri.

(iii) Nos. 4077-81.—Of these five Mss the first is written in Kashmiri and dated Samvat 1898, the second is written in Nāgara of the 18th century, and the remaining three are written in Bengali script. Of these remaining three Mss, the first is dated Saka 1623 and the third is dated Saka 1639.

The numbers of chapters of these five Mss or their contents are not mentioned in the Catalogue.]

questions with the narration of various relevant stories. So, the present Narasimha-p. deals with the following topics: -

Glorification of Narasimha (also called Visnu, Hari, Vāsudeva Krsna, etc.) by identifying him with Nārāyaṇa, the eternal Brahma.

(6) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., Vol. II, Part i, p. 916 (Nos. 6616-18).

[(i) No. 6616.—It is written in Grantha characters of about 1866-67. A.D. and consists of 61 chapters. Its beginning is very defective, and it ends with the verse 'yo nārasimham vapur āsthitah purā'. Its colophon runs as follows: - iti śrinarasimhapurāne ekaşastitamo'dhyāyah / śrilaksmanārasimhārpaṇam astu//harih om/kara-kṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhanti santah/

(ii) No. 6617.—It is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali characters of about 1800 A.D. It begins with the same verses as those of Eggeling

No. 3375.

(iii) No. 6618.—It deals only with geography and is not divided into chapters. It corresponds to chaps. 30 and 31 (verses 98-112) of the printed ed. and lacks the story of Dhruva as found in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed ed.]

(7) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323 and 284A.

[(i) Ms No. 2713, which was collected from Vaidyavātī in the district of Hooghly, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 98 folios, of which fol. 1 is damaged and fol. 2 is mutilated at the left side. It contains 63 chapters and is dated Saka 1567. It is fairly correct. Like Mitra's Ms, it begins with the verses 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayorah-', and ends thus:

prasanne deva-deveśe sarva-pāpa-kṣayo bhavet/ prakṣiṇa-pāpa-bandhās te muktim yānti parām punaḥ// yo nārasimham vapur āsthitah purā hitāya lokasya diteh sutam yudhi/ nakhaih sutikṣṇair vidadāra vairiṇaṇi divaukasām tam praņamāmi keśavam//

vyājṛmbhad-bhinna-bhāsvat-pṛthu-lalita-satācchāditārkendu-mārgaḥ pātāla-prāpta-pāda-prakhara-nakha-prota-śeṣāhi-bhogaḥ/ netrair mārtaņda-caņdais tribhir anala-sikhām udvahadbhih pradīptah pāyād vo nārasiṃhaḥ kara-khara-nakharair bhinna-daityaś ciradyaḥ// kim kim simhas tatah kim nara-sadréa-vapur deva citram grhito naivam dhik ko nu jivet drutam upanayatām sopi satyam harīśah/ cāpam cāpam na khadgam jhatiti daha daha karkasatvam nakhānām ity evam daitya-nātham nija-nakha-kuliśair jaghnivān yaḥ saroṣāt//

iti śrinarasimhapurāņe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini parambrahmasvarūpiņi idam ekam sunispannam dhyeyo nārāyaņah sadā/ na vāsudevāt param Description of the origin of the cosmic egg (aṇḍa) from Brahma (i.e. Nārāyaṇa) according to the Sāṃkhya system; Viṣṇu's presence as Brahmā in this egg for creation. Division of time into nimeṣa, kāṣṭhā, kalā, muhūrta, ahorātra (day and night), pakṣa (fortnight), māsa (month), ayana, varṣa (year), yuga and kalpa; and measurement of

asti kimcit śrīnarasimhapurāṇam samāptam/ śrī-rāma-cakravartinaḥ pustakam idam/ śrī-gopāla-śarmaṇaḥ svākṣaram idam// śubham astu śakābdāḥ 1567//, terikha 23 jyaiṣṭhaḥ// aṣṭamyām śukla-pakṣe tu guru-vāre samāptaś cāyam granthaḥ//

The corresponding chapters in this Ms and the printed ed, are the following:

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Ms
                  Printed ed.
Chaps. 1-29 = Chaps. 1-29 respectively.
Chap. 30 = Chaps. 30 and 31 (verses
               98-113).
Chap. 31
           =Chap. 32.
           =Chap. 33 (verses 1-14);
Chap. 32
              chap. 34 (verses 2-55).
Chaps. 33-37 = Chaps. 35-39 respecti-
                vely.
           =Chap. 40 (except verses
Chap. 38
             60b-61b); chap. 44
             (verses 14-43).
Chaps. 39-44 = Chaps. 45-50 respecti-
              vely.
Chap. 45 = Chaps. 51-52.
Chap. 46 (on holy place in
                                  x
     Ayodhyā)
Chap. 47 = Chap. 53
Chap. 48 = Chap. 54 (verses 1-6).
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Ms
                 Printed ed.
Chap. 49
           =Chap.
                     54, verse 7;
              chap. 55.
Chap. 50
           =Chap. 56.
Chap. 51 (except about)
25 additional verses on
                       =Chap. 57
selection
         of flowers
                        (verses 1-7).
and leaves for Visnu-
worship)
Chap. 52 = Chap. 57 (verses 8-30).
Chap. 53 = Chap. 58 (verses 1-16).
Chap. 54 = Chap. 58 (verses 17-38).
Chap. 55 = Chap. 58(verses 39-115).
Chaps. 56-59 = Chaps. 59-62 respec-
                 tively.
Chap. 60 = Chap. 63 (verses 1-9 and
              119b-122).
Chaps. 61-63 = Chaps. 65-67 respec-
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ap. 48 = Chap. 54 (verses 1-6). tively.

The above table shows that this Ms lacks the following sections of the

chap. 31, verses 1-97
chap. 33, verses 15-85;
chap. 34, verse 1

chap. 40, verses 60b-61b;
chaps. 41-43;
chap. 44, verses 1-13
chap. 54, verses 8-61

```
-on the story of Dhruva;

-on the story of the killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras by the Pāṇḍavas;

-on the story of Prahlāda;

-on the characteristic evils of the Kali
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age;

printed ed .: -

these divisions with respect to men, Pitrs, Manus, Brahmā etc. Brahma's origin from the lotus in Visnu's navel; origin of Rudra from Brahma's rage; Brahma's creation of Daksa and his wife, from whom Svāyambhuva Manu was born. (-Chaps. 1-3). Origin of the ten

chap. 63, verses 10-	-on the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the				
	eight-syllabled mantra;				
chap. 64	— — dealing with the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarika on the glory				
	of Nārāyaṇa;				
chap. 68	_ on the glorification of the Nara				
	siṃha-p.				
	-inted edition lacks chap, 46 (on holy places in				

On the other hand, the printed edition lacks chap. 46 (on holy places in Ayodhyā) and about 25 verses (on the selection of leaves and flowers for Visnu-worship) of chap. 51 of the Ms.

This Ms deals with the story of Rama-pradurbhava in five chapters (viz., 41-45) as against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed., chap. 45 of the former

consisting of chaps. 51-52 of the latter.

The agreement between this Ms and that described by Mitra is very close, and as both these Mss were copied in Saka 1567, they are either based on the same original or derived from the same archetype.

(ii) Ms No. 323, which was procured from Ula in the district of Nadia, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 131 folios, of which fols. 37-40 (containing chaps. 19-27, and verses 1.16 of chap, 28 of the printed ed.) are missing and fol, 131 is wrongly numbered 139. It contains 64 chapters and is dated Saka 1588.

It begins and ends with the same verses (though with occasional variations in readings) as the preceding Ms, and its final colophon (viz., iti śri-narasimhapurane adye dharmartha-mokṣa-pradayini parambrahma-svarūpini idam ekam sunispannam dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā/na vāsudevāt param asti kimcit narasimhapurāņam samāptam/śubham astu śakābdāḥ 1588/haraye namaḥ govindāya namah/) also agrees very closely with that of the latter. (It should be mentioned here that the colophon of its final chapter, which is almost the same as its final colophon, runs thus:—iti śri-narasimha-purāņe ādye ... na vāsudevāt param asti kimcit prathamo'dhyāyah/).

This Ms lacks the same sections of the printed ed. as the preceding Ms. It also contains, like the preceding Ms, a chapter (viz., chap. 47 on holy places in Ayodhyā) and about 50 lines (on the selection of leaves and flowers for Visnu-

worship) in chap. 52, which do not occur in the printed ed.

Thus, this Ms seems to have been derived from the same archetype as the

sages Marīci, Atri, Angiras etc. from Brahmā's mind; Brahmā's creation of Śatarūpā, who was given in marriage to Manu; creation by the sages except Nārada who was given to nivṛtti-dharma; creation by Rudra; creation by Dakṣa; descendants of Dakṣa's daughters. (—Chaps. 4-5). Description of the saṃsāra-vṛkṣa (tree of rebirths) which causes delusion of the mind; praise of jñāna, Viṣṇu-worship and meditation on Viṣṇu-Brahma as the means of getting rid of all sufferings brought on by rebirths; method and praise of muttering the eight-syllabled

preceding Ms. The difference in the number of chapters in these two Mss is due to the fact that the story of Rāma-prādurbhāva is given in the preceding Ms in five chapters as against six (viz., chaps. 41-46) of the present one.

(iii) Ms No. 284A, which was procured from Nalāhāṭi in the district of Burdwan, consists of 121 folios and is written in Bengali script. It is dated Saka 1742 and contains 53 chapters, of which chaps. 14-53 are not numbered.

It begins with the verses 'nārāyaṇaṃ namaskṛtya', 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayoraḥ-', and ends thus:—

imam stavam yah pathate sa mānavah prāpnoti visnor amitātmakam hi tat// iti śri-narasimha-purāne dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini param-brahmasvarūpiņi vaiṣṇavāṣṭa-ṣaṣṭi-nāmādhyāyah//

asya śrī-rājasimhasya prakṛtyālingito hariḥ/
rādhā-mohana-rāyasya prīto bhavatu sarvadā//
yugma-śruty-aśva-candrānkita-śaka-mite bhāskare taiṣa-yāte
natvālekhīn murāreḥ kajanu-yuga-samaṃ pāda-yugmaṃ surārcyam/
śrī-rādhā-mohanākhya-kṣitipa-naraharer nārasiṃhaṃ purāṇaṃ
gotrād evānvavāya-prabhava-kṛta-mahāyatna-santāna āśu//

In this Ms, chap. 53 consists of chaps. 57 (verses 8-20) and 65 of the printed edition. In verses 1-16 of chap. 53 of this Ms (which correspond to verses 8-20 of chap. 57 of the printed ed.) king Sahasrānīka asks Mārkaņdeya to describe to him the duties of the four castes and orders of life (varņāśramadharma). Consequently, Mārkaņdeya begins to report what Hārīta, being requested by some sages to speak on 'varņāśrama-dharma', 'yoga-śāstra' and 'viṣṇu-tattva' (cf. bhagavan sarvva-dharmmajña sarvva-dharmma-pravarttaka/varṇānām āśramāṇānca dharmmān prabrūhi śāśvatān/samāsād yoga-śāstantu yam dhyātvā mucyate narah/viṣṇu-tattvaṃ muni-śreṣtha tvaṃ hi naḥ paramo guruḥ/), said to them on these topics. But in these verses Hārīta is found only to introduce his subject by briefly narrating the origin of the four castes and the place fit for their residence and to say nothing on Varṇāśrama-dharma etc. On the other hand, in verses 17fī. of this chapter (which corresponds to chap. 65 of the printed ed.) Sūta, being requested by Bharadvāja, names the 68 places

mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya' for the purpose. (—Chaps. 16-18). Enumeration of Āditya's 108 names (including Sambhu, Tvaṣṭṛ, Kapila, Mṛṭyu, Hari, Haṃsa, Pratardana, Taraṇi, Mahendra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Agni etc.) as mentioned by Viśvakarman (chap. 20). 'Short' genealogical lists of the kings of the Solar and the Lunar race, the former ending with Budha (v.l. 'Buddha' in some Mss), son of Suddhodana, and the latter with Kṣemaka, son of Naravāhana and grandson of Udayana and Vāsavadattā (chaps. 22-23). Accounts of the past, present and future Manus and Manvantaras (chap. 24). History of the prominent kings of the Solar and the Lunar race (vaṃśānucarita), especially of those who worshipped Narasiṃha and performed sacrifices

sacred to Visnu. Hence it is sure that in the original Ms from which our present one was copied, verses 1-16 of chap. 53 were followed by chapters on Varnāśrama-dharma, Yoga and Visnu-tattva, i.e. by chaps. 57 (verses 21-30—on the duties of Brahmins), 58-60 (on the duties of the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras, as well as of the students, householders, forest-hermits and yatis), 61 (on Yoga), 62 (on the Vedic procedure of Viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (verses 1-9 and 119b-122—on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship) of the printed ed. It is most probably due to the inadvertence of the scribe that these intervening chapters and verses have been omitted in our present Ms.

As, like the other two Mss, it lacks the following sections of the printed

ed., viz.,

chap. 31, verses 1-97 chap. 33, verses 15-85

chap. 40, verses 60b-61b; chaps. 41-43; chap. 44, verses 1-13 chap. 54, verses 8-61 -on the story of Dhruva,

—on the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlasiras,

on the story of Prahlada,

—on the characteristic evils of the Kali age,

we may assume that the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory of Nārāyaṇa (as given in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) were wanting in the original Ms from which our present one was copied.

(It should be mentioned here that the corresponding chapters of the Dacca University Mss on the one hand and the printed ed. on the other, differ not only in readings but also occasionally in the numbers of verses. For instance, after verse 31 of chap. 5 the Dacca University Mss have 24 metrical lines which are not found in the printed ed.).]

(chaps. 25-29). Geography of the earth (chap. 30). Glorification of performance of duties towards parents and husband (chap. 14). Glorification of Brahmins and of service rendered to them (chap. 28). Results of giving various articles (chap. 30). Method of worship of Ganesa (chap. 26). Glorification of Narasimha-worship as well as of the different kinds of service rendered to Narasimha and his temple (viz., construction and sweeping of the temple and besmearing it with cow-dung; bathing the image with pure water, milk, curd, honey etc. or with mantra; offer of various articles; recitation of hymns of praise; presentation of flags marked with the figure of Garuda; songs, musical concerts, or theatrical performances etc. held for Narasimha's pleasure; removal of the flowers etc. with which Narasimha has been worshipped; and so on.—Chaps, 32-34). Sins arising out of crossing the flowers

(8) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., pp. 207-8, No. 452.

[This Ms is written in Nagara and consists of only 41 chapters (so far as their number, given by Mitra in connection with the description of their contents, shows). The corresponding chapters of this Ms and the printed ed are the following:—

Ms	Printed ed.	Ms	Printed ed,
Chaps. 1-29 = Chaps. 1-29 respectively.		Chap. 33	=Chap. 35.
Chap, 30			-41 = Chaps. 36-39; 40 (ex-
	98-113).		cept verses 60b-61b);
Chap. 31	=Chap. 32.		44 '(verses 14-43);
Chap. 32	=Chaps. 33 (verses 1-14);		45-47.
	34 (verses 2-55).		. C. l. incomptions

So this Ms, which ends after dealing with only a few of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, is necessarily incomplete. It lacks the stories of Dhruva, Prahlāda, and the Pāṇḍavas who killed the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras for carrying away Draupadī by force.]

(9) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7151-53, Nos. 10548-53.

[Of these Mss, the first (No. 10548) consists of 64 chapters and is written in Devanāgarī. It begins with the verse 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāntarjvalat-' and ends with the verse 'yo nārasiṃhaṃ vapur āsthitaḥ purā'. Its colophon is as follows: iti śrīmannarasiṃha-purāṇe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpa-nirūpaṇe catuḥṣaṣṭitamo 'dhyāyaḥ. The contents of its different chapters are not given in the Catalogue.

No information regarding the beginnings, ends and contents of the other

Mss is given by Sastri.]

of performing lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa for the good of the village or the town or the country in which these are performed (chaps. 34-35). Method of consecration of images of Viṣṇu (chap. 56). The Vedic and the popular (sarva-hita) method of Narasiṃha-(or Viṣṇu-) worship (chaps. 62-63). Description of the evils of the Kali age (chap. 54). Duties of the four castes and orders of life (varṇāśrama-dharma—chaps. 57-60). Description and praise of yoga which is to

(10) Chakravarti, Vangiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat., p. 72, No. 1432. [It contains chaps. 1-60 and is complete.]

(11) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 202.

[One of the two Mss is complete and is written in modern Kāśmīri script, while the other deals with Lakṣmī-nṛṣiṃha-sahasra-nāma.]

(12) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 337 and 338.

- (13) Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar, pp. 224 and 248.
- (14) Lewis Rice, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg, p. 72.

(15) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 188.

(16) Haraprasad Shastri, Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal, p. 29.

[This Ms is written in Maithila script.].

(17) Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 51, No. 1084.

(18) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. ii, pp. 1612-14, Nos. 2345-47 (complete in 62 chapters).

284 The mediums of worship are the following:—fire, heart (hṛdaya), sun, altar and image. (Nar. 62. 5-6. Some Mss read 'apsv agnau' for 'ato'gnau').

Regarding the conduct of people of the Kali age this Purāṇa says that there will be an intermixture of castes, women will become unruly and licentious, Brahmavādins will drink wine, the members of the higher three castes will disregard the rules of dharma, serve the Śūdras, enjoy widows and Śūdra women, and take food from the Śūdras, people will decry Hari and will not care to remember his name, Śūdras will become pseudo-ascetics (pravrajyā-linginah) and preach religious doctrines, these Śūdras as well as many flowers among the twice-born will turn Pāṣaṇdas, Brahmins will be eager for receiving gifts, and the Bhikṣus will teach their students with a view to earning their livelihood.

286 In enumerating the duties of the members of the four castes and orders of life this Purāṇa says that a Kṣatriya king should try to attain victory through fair means, that the Sūdras should serve the twice-born, follow agriculture for earning their livelihood, and hear the Purāṇas from Brahmins, that a twice-born

231 be practised by one who belongs to the fourth order of life (chap. 61). Enumeration and praise of rivers287 and holy places288 sacred to Visnu (chaps. 65-66). Praise of certain qualities of the mind (chap. 67). Mention and praise of a few Vratas (viz., Eka-bhakta, Nakta, Sauranakta, Agastyārgha-dāna, etc. — chap. 67). Praise of the Narasimhapurāna (chap. 68).

In connection with these topics the following stories have been introduced in this Purana:

The story of the birth of Vasistha and Agastya from Mitra and Varuna when the latter saw Urvaśī in a lake called Paundarīka in a forest in Kuruksetra (chap. 6); the story of Markandeya who, being destined to die at the age of twelve, worshipped Visnu, according to Bhrgu's advice, with the twelve-syllabled mantra (om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya) at Bhadravata on the bank of the river Tunga-bhadrā, with the result that even Death had no influence on him, and when Death and his assistants went to Yama to report how, in their attempt to bring Markandeya to the abode of Yama, they had been beaten back by the Visnu-dūtas, Yama reproached them for their conduct towards the Viṣṇu-dūtas, and praised Viṣṇu (also called Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa) as the chastiser even of himself (chaps. 7-12); the story of Yama, who, though repeatedly tempted by his passionate sister Yamī to incest, did not agree to her proposal and was thus able to attain divinity (chap. 13); the story of a Brahmacarin named Deva-sarman who turned a wandering mendicant after his father's death, began to live at Nandigrāma in Madhyadeśa after visiting numerous holy places, became proud of his occult power by being able to reduce to ashes, by an angry glance, a crow and a crane which were carrying

should not put on red or blue clothes, and that a teacher should not teach his students during the Mahānavamī, Bharaṇī-dvādaśī, Akṣaya-tṛtīyā and Māghī Saptami.

287 Viz., Vitastā, Kāveri, Payoṣṇi, Vipāśā, Sivanadī, Gomatī, Sarasvatī,

Carmanvatī, Godāvarī, Tungabhadrā etc.

288 Viz., Kokāmukha, Pāṇḍya-sahya, Śālagrāma, Gandhamādana, Kubjāgāra, Gandhadvāra, Sakala, Sāyaka, Puṣkara, Kaseraṭa, Mahāvana, Halāṅgara, Daśapura, Cakra-tīrtha, Devadāru-vana, Kumāra-tīrtha, Āḍhya, Śūkara, Māhīṣmati, Gayā etc.

away his rag, chanced to meet Savitri, the devoted, and consequently omniscient, wife of a pious and learned Brahmin named Kasyapa, and was reproached by her for his pride as well as for his neglect of duties to his mother and forefathers (chap. 14); the story of a learned Brahmin, who, after his wife's death, visited numerous holy places, turned a yati at the advice of Narasimha (who warned him that one, who does not belong to any order of life, is not favoured by him), and attained salvation after death (chap. 15); the stories of the birth of the Asvins and the Maruts, said to have been summarised from those told respectively by Vāyu and by Sakti-putra²⁸⁹ (i. e. Parāśara) in the 'Vaisnavākhya Purāṇa' (chaps. 19-21); the story of Iksvāku, who, considering renunciation to be the best way of Visnu-worship, went to the hermitage of Galava and others after eulogising and worshipping Ganesa according to Vasistha's instructions, practised severe penance there, and muttered the twelve-syllabled mantra 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya', with the result that Brahmā revealed himself before king Iksvāku, told him how, being directed by a voice from the air, he himself could experience Visnu by worshipping this god as well as by performing his own duties, and gave instructions to Ikṣvāku, who accordingly returned to his capital, did his duties as a householder, worshipped the images of Ananta and Madhava given to him by Brahmā, and attained the region of Viṣṇu (chaps. 25-26); the story of Santanu who, though worshipping Narasimha according to the method learnt from Nārada, once passed over Narasimhanirmalya (i. e. the followers etc. with which Narasimha was worshipped) and was thus disabled from mounting his divine chariot but who regained his power by clearing the remnants of food of Brahmins for twelve years in Kuruksetra (chap. 28); the story of Indra's son who used to steal flowers from the garden of a florist named Ravi and was disabled from mounting his chariot in consequence of passing over

²⁸⁹ The printed ed, reads 'śakti-putreṇa' (see Nar. 19.5), but the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713 (fol. 27a) and 284A (fol. 34b) as well as a few others read 'śaktri-putreṇa'. In the Dacca Univ, Ms No. 323, the folios (37-40), containing chaps. 19-27 and verses 1-16 of chap. 28 of the printed ed., are lost. The readings ('śakta-putreṇa' and 'śalpa-putreṇa') given by the Sanskrit College (Calcutta) Mss are corrupt.

Visnu-nirmalya, placed by the florist near the garden according to Narasimha's instructions, but who got rid of his disability and went to his heavenly residence after clearing the remnants of food of Brahmins for twelve years in Kuruksetra (chap. 28); the story of Dhruva's attainment of high position among the stars and planets through Narasimha's favour attained by means of Visnu-worship as well as by muttering the twelve-syllabled mantra 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' (chap. 31); the story of the demons Sthūlasiras and Bahuroman, who disguised themselves as ascetics on the bank of the Revā with a view to carrying away Draupadī, and of whom the former was killed by Bhīma, and the latter, when chased by Arjuna, took the form of a four-armed and yellow-robed being with a conch-shell, disc etc. in his hands and narrated to Arjuna how in his previous birth as a Brahmin of ill repute he swept the floor of a Visnu-temple and lighted a lamp there for enjoying the wife of a Brahmin, how being beaten to death by the city-guards he attained heaven and remained there for a long time, how he was reborn as king Jayadhvaja of the Lunar race and rendered service to the Visnu-temple, and how after death he enjoyed various pleasures in the regions of Indra and Rudra and was cursed by Nārada to become a demon on his way to the Brahma-loka (chap. 33); the stories of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu (viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, 290 Balabhadra, 291 Kṛṣṇa, 292 and Kalki 293) including the story of Prahlada (chaps. 36-54); the story of Sukra's

290 In connection with the Rāma-story it is said that being ordered by Sugriva the monkeys searched for Sītā in different places, viz., Kāśmira, the eastern countries, Kāmarūŗa, Kośala, Sapta-końkaṇakas, etc. (Nar. 50. 20-21), and that Rāma, before his decisive fight with Rāvaṇa, muttered the Āditya-hṛdaya mantra which was imparted to him by Agastya (Nar. 52. 96-97).

291 Balabhadra, who is said to be none but Narasimha's white energy (sitä śakti), is said to have killed Rukmina, king of Kalinga, by uprooting his teeth.

292 Kṛṣṇa, who is the dark energy (kṛṣṇā śakti) of Narasiṃha, is said to have killed Naraka and many other Daityas (such as Hayagrīva) of Prāgjyotiṣa.

Viṣṇuyaśas in the great village (mahāgrāma) called Sāmbhala and exterminate the Mlecchas with a sword by mounting a horse.

regaining his eye which was pierced by Vāmana (chap. 55); the story of Indra, who muttered the eight-syllabled mantra and got rid of his female form that was brought on him by the curse of the sage Tṛṇabindu for killing in his hermitage the demoness Dṝghajaṅghā who, under the guise of an extremely beautiful woman, acted as a spy to Kuvera whose wife Citrasenā was stolen by Indra (chap. 63); the story of a Brahmin named Puṇḍarīka, who became a wandering mendicant without entering the second stage of life, settled at Sāligrāma and became an attendant (pāṛṣada) of Nārāyaṇa by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra (oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya), and meditating on the deity according to the instructions of Nārada who introduced himself as a servant (dāsa) of Vāsudeva (chap. 64).

From the contents of the present Narasimha-p. summarised above it is clear that this Purana is meant exclusively for the glorification of Narasimha who is identified with Nārāyana (or Viṣṇu) as one of the forms (mūrti) of the latter²⁹⁴ and is thus called not only Nārāyaṇa but also Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Hari, Mādhava, Ananta, Kṛṣṇa,295 Dāmodara etc. So, Narasimha, though a form of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, is himself the principal god also. It is this supreme deity called Nārāyana (or Visnu or Narasimha) who takes the forms of Brahmā and Rudra for the sake of creation and destruction respectively; and for the work of preservation he takes the forms of (the inferior) Visnu, Narasimha etc.296 In creation he takes to māyā.297 Though in this Purāņa Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa) is described as four-armed, yellow-robed, having a complexion like that of the cloud, and holding a conch-shell, a disc, a mace and a lotus in his hands, he is called nirvikalpa, nisprapañca, advaita, sarvātmaka, ātma-caitanya-rūpa, jyotiķ-svarūpa, avyakta-svarūpa, ānanda-rūpa, cidātmaka etc.298 and is identified with Brahma of Vedanta and Purusa of Samkhya. 299

²⁹⁴ Nar. 1, 30; 1, 64-65.

²⁹⁵ Nar. 1. 10; 7. 37.

²⁹⁶ Nar. 1. 30; 2. 1; 1. 61-62 and 64-65; 39. 17b-18b.

²⁹⁷ Nar. 3. 28-māyām adhiṣṭhāya srjaty anantaḥ.

²⁹⁸ Nar. 17. 17-18, 24-25 and 27; 1. 61b-62a; 1. 31a; 53. 11; and so on.

²⁹⁹ Nar. 1. 31a and 36-39; 3. 13; 17. 35a.

It has already been said that the present Narasimha-p. is one of the oldest of the extant Vaisnava Upapurāņas. It was translated into Telugu about 1300 A.D.300 and is profusely drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandha-writers both early and late. For instance, Gadādhara quotes verses from chap. 58 in his Kālasāra; Nīlakņṭha from chaps. 34 and 58 in his Ācāra-mayūkha; Gopālabhaṭṭa from chaps. 8, 9, 18, 28, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58 and 66 in his Haribhaktivilāsa; Anantabhatta from chaps. 34 and 35 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta, I; Narasimha Vājapeyin from chaps. 7, 8, 28, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58 and 63 in his Nityacāra-pradīpa; Raghunandana from chap. 62 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva and from chaps. 8, 18, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58, 62, 63, 66 and 67 in his Smṛṭi-tattva; Govindananda from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58, 62 and 67 in his Varsa-kaumudī, from chap. 58 in his Suddhi-kaumudī and Srāddhakaumudī, and from chap. 30 in his Dāna-kaumudī; Śrīnāthācāryacūdāmaņi from chap. 58 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava; Rudradhara Upādhyāya from chaps. 30 and 67 in his Varsa-krtya; Vidyākara Vājapeyin from chaps. 8, 15, 32, 58 and 63 in his Nityācāra-paddhati; Sūlapāṇi from chap. 58 in his Dīpa-kalikā; Vācaspati-miśra from chap. 65 in his Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi; Vidyāpati Upādhyāya from chaps. 30, 32 and 58 in his Gangā-vākyāvalī; Candesvara Thakkura from chaps. 30, 34, 58 and 67 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, and from chaps. 55 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Grhastha-ratnākara; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 58 and 60 in his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti; Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 28, 32, 34, 55 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Ācārādarśa (alias Kṛtyācāra), and from chap. 67 in his Samaya-pradīpa; Madanapāla from chaps. 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Madana-pārijāta; Hemādri from chaps. 26, 30, 58 and 67 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaņi; Halāyudha from chaps. 58 and 62 in his Brāhmaņa-sarvasva; Vallālasena from chaps. 30, 34 and 58 in his Danasagara; Devaņa-bhaṭṭa from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Smṛti-candrikā; Aparārka from chaps. 58, 60, 62 and 63 in his com-

³⁰⁰ Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 249.

mentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti; and Lakṣmīdhara from chaps. 17, 26, 30, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66 and 67 in his Krtya-kalpataru, Vols. I-III, V, VI, VIII and XIV. In his Smrti-tattva, II, pp. 84 and 284 Raghunandana quotes Nar. 66. 45 and Nar. 30. 29-30a not direct from the Narasimha-p. but from the 'Tirtha-kāṇḍa-kalpataru' and 'Dāna-ratnākara' respectively. Though Vallālasena is very particular about the authenticity of the Puranas which he draws upon in his Dānasāgara,301 he describes the present Narasimha-p. as a work

301 Interesting information about the Puranas is supplied by Vallalasena when, in his Dānasāgara, he refers to the contents of a few Purānic works by way of explaining why he rejected them partly or wholly. Regarding the Adipurana he says that though it was well-known for its treatment of gifts divided according to the division of the year, it was slightly touched upon in the Dānasāgara, because its contents were already fully utilised in the Ācāra-sāgara; the Bhagavata, the Brahmanda and the Naradiya-purana did not contain any chapter on gifts and were consequently set aside; the Linga-purana, whose volume was expanded by the chapters on big donations (mahādāna) contained in the Matsya-purana and which was thus no better than a digest on gifts, was not drawn upon, because the substance of its contents was already obtained from other Purāṇas; the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa was utilised upto the chapters dealing with the saptami (-kalpa), while those on the astami and navami (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence; the Visnu-rahasya and the Siva-rahasya, which were famous among the people, were mere compilations and were consequently not utilised; and though the Bhavisyottara was famous for its customary laws (or was popularly followed) and did not contradict good customs, it was avoided in the Danasagara for want of sufficient evidence to prove its authenticity.

Next, Vallālasena names a set of Purāņas rejected by him as spurious, viz., Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruḍa), Brāhma, Āgneya, Vaiṣṇava consisting of 23000 ślokas, and Linga of 6000 ślokas; and in connexion with their contents he says that these works, dealing with initiation, consecration, ways of salvation for the Tantriks, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar etc. and containing irrelevant and contradictory statements, were used as means of deception by Mina-ketanas (followers of Minanatha?) and others, who are hypocrites, heretics and pseudo-ascetics. By his remark that due to its wide circulation the Skanda-purāņa existed in more parts than one, and that three of its parts dealt with the accounts (kathā) of Paundra, Revā and Avantī, Vallālasena seems to include those three parts among the spurious Purāṇas.—See Dānasāgara, pp. 6-7 (verses 55-68).

dealing prominently with donations³⁰² and utilises it without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity, antiquity and non-Tantric character. These show that by the first half of the eleventh century A. D. the Narasimha-p. attained so much prominence that its authenticity as an ancient 'Purāṇa' was not at all questioned. Hence this Purāṇa must have been written not later than 850 A.D.

The mention of a 'Vārāhākhyā Saṃhitā' or 'Vārāha'³⁰³ in the Narasiṃha-p. must not be taken to point to the extant Varāha-p. and thus be used as an evidence in favour of the late date of the present Narasiṃha. In Nar. I. 14-15 Bharadvāja says, "O Sūta, the Saṃhitā named Vārāha has already been heard from you by these (sages) and ourselves during the great sacrifice of Saunaka; at present these sages and myself want to hear from you the Paurāṇa-saṃhitā named Nāra-siṃha''³⁰⁴, and in Nar. 31. 10b-11a Sūta says in connection with geography, "The region of Viṣṇu is situated at a distance double in comparison with that of the region of Brahmā; its glory has been described in the Vārāha by those who think over the (different) regions''. ³⁰⁵ From these it is clear that the Narasiṃha-p. speaks of a

302 See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 12bff.)—
... kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ/
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca//
ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāmbaṃ ca kālikāhvayam eva ca/
nāndam āditya-saṃjñaṃ ca nārasiṃhaṃ tathaiva ca//etc.

303 In Nar. 13. 111a the printed ed. reads 'varāhe', but most of the Mss read 'vārāhe' in the corresponding line. See foot-note 305 below.

bharadvāja uvāca—
śaunakasya mahāsatre vārāhākhyā tu saṃhitā/
tvattaḥ śrutā purā sūta etair asmābhir eva ca//
sāṃprataṃ narasiṃhākhyāṃ tvattaḥ paurāṇa-saṃhitām/
śrotum icchāmy ahaṃ sūta śrotukāmā ime sthitāḥ// Nar. 1.14-15.

305 brahma-lokād viṣṇu-loko dviguṇe ca vyavasthitaḥ/ varāhe tasya māhātmyaṃ kathitaṃ loka-cintakaiḥ// Nar. 31. 110b-111a.

Most of the Mss read 'vārāhe' for 'varāhe'. (See, for instance, Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323 and 284A and Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304).

Varāha-p. which was narrated by Sūta to the sages Bharadvāja and others during the great sacrifice of Saunaka and which dealt, among other topics, with the praise of the region of Viṣṇu. But in the present Varāha-p. there is no mention of Saunaka's great sacrifice as the occasion for the narration of the Purāṇa or of Bharadvāja as one of the interlocutors, nor does this Purāṇa deal with the praise of the Viṣṇuloka. So, the Varāha-p., mentioned in the Narasiṃha-p., must have been different from the extant Varāha, which was thus unknown to the present Narasiṃha-p. The original chapters of the extant Varāha-p. being written about 800 A.D., the date of the present Narasiṃha-p. must be placed earlier.

The verses common to the Narasimha-p. and the present Varāha in their chapters on primary and secondary creation³⁰⁶ need not be taken to prove the indebtedness of one of these two Purāṇas to the other. These common verses must have been taken by these two Purāṇas from the earlier Varāha-p. which is now lost.

In chaps. 26, 33 (verses 1-14), 34, 35, 56, 62 and 63 (verses 1-9 and 119-122) the Narasimha-p. gives the method of Ganeśa-worship, the Vedic and popular methods of Viṣṇu-worship, the method of consecrating the images of Viṣṇu, and the procedure to be followed in the performance of lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa. But neither in these chapters nor anywhere else in the whole Purāṇa there is the slightest trace of Tantric influence. This Purāṇa does not mention the Tantriks or the Tantras even for the sake of denouncement. So, it is evident that this Purāṇa was composed at a time when the Tantras did not begin to influence the people very seriously. Now, from an examination of the Mahāpurāṇas we have seen that Tantric influence began to be imbibed by the Purāṇic works from about 800 A.D.³⁰⁷ Hence the Narasiṃha-p. must be dated not later than 700 A.D.

	Narasimha-p. 1. 17, 19-20a, 23 1. 32-33 1. 35-36a 3. 1-9a	Varāha-p. 3a = 1.12-15a. = 2. 3-4. = 2. 5-6. = 2. 13-20.	Narasimha-p. 3. 10b 3. 11-28b 4. 1-6 5. 5a, 6b-8a	Varāha-p. =2, 21a, =2, 23-41a, =2, 42-47, =2, 49-50,
307	See Hazra, Puranic Records, p. 260.			

Though in chap. 36 of the Narasimha-p. Mārkandeya promises to narrate the stories on the following (eleven) incarnations of Visnu, viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Parasurāma, Rāma, 308 Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki, he gives, in chaps. 37-54, the stories on all these except the Buddha and adds at the end, "I have spoken on the ten incarnations of (Visnu) the destroyer of (all) earthly sins. The devotee of Nrsimha, who always listens to these, attains Viṣṇu" (Nar. 54. 6). So, the only line 'kalau prāpte yathā buddho bhaven nārāyaṇah prabhuh' (Nar. 36. 9a), which mentions the Buddha incarnation, is undoubtedly spurious. This line does not occur in most of the Mss of the Narasimha-p. Thus the Narasimha-p. knows the group of the 'ten' incarnations of Visnu but is quite ignorant of the Buddha incarnation. An examination of the different lists of incarnations of Visnu shows that the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Visnu not very much earlier than 500 A.D. 309 Hence the date of the Narasimha-p. is to be placed not later than about 500 A.D.

According to the Narasimha-p. Kṛṣṇa embodies only a part of Viṣṇu's Sakti.³¹⁰ It is for this inferior position of Kṛṣṇa that Yama says in Nar. 9. 3, "I submit to the slayer of (the demon) Madhu; even Kṛṣṇa is not able to restrain me of his own accord". Hence the Narasiṃha-p. is to be dated earlier than the present Bhāgavata, in which Kṛṣṇa is given a higher position and is even called the Bhagavat himself.³¹¹ As the present Bhāgavata is to be dated in the sixth

³⁰⁸ In the present ed, the verse (No. 7) on the Rāma incarnation is placed before the line (No. 9a) on Paraśurāma, but in most of the Mss this order has been reversed.

^{309.} See Hazra, Purănic Records, pp. 41-42.

³¹⁰ See Nar. 53. 30b-31a (......avatīrya mahītale/sita-kṛṣṇe ca macchaktī kaṃsādīn ghātayiṣyataḥ//), 33a (preṣayāmāsa te śaktī sita-kṛṣṇe svake nṛpa), and 66a (itthaṃ hi śaktī sita-kṛṣṇa-rūpe harer anantasya mahābalāḍhye).

³¹¹ Cf. Bhāgavata-p. I. 3. 28a—ete cāmśa-kalāḥ puṃsaḥ kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam.

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century A.D.,812 the Narasimha-p. is to be placed not later than 240 500 A.D.

Thus we get the lower limit of the date of this Purana.

Again, in Narasimha-p., chaps. 47-52, a summary of the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa is given in connection with the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu; Nar. 29. 3 mentions some of the notable incidents of the Mahābhārata, viz., Arjuna's receipt of the Pāśupata weapon from Samkara and the assistance given by him to Agni in consuming the Khāṇḍava forest, the Pāṇḍavas' residence incognito with Draupadī in Virāṭa's capital, and so on; and in Nar. 29.6 Janamejaya is said to have heard the entire Mahabharata from Vaisampayana, a student of Vyāsa, in order to get rid of the sin arising out of killing a Brahmin (brahma-hatyā)'. Thus the Narasimha-p. knows both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. In Nar. 19. 5-6 Sūta says to Bharadvāja, "O high-minded one, the origin of the Maruts has already been described elaborately by the son of Śakti (i.e. by Parāśara) in the Purāṇa named Vaisnava, and the creation of the twin gods Asvins has been narrated in minute details by Vayu. I shall speak to you briefly on this creation. Listen to me."313 Thus, the Narasimha-p. mentions two Puranas, of which the second is decidedly the present Vayu-p., which contains

312 As there are a few parallelisms in idea as well as language between the works of Samkarācārya and the present Bhāgavata-p., some scholars are inclined to date the Bhagavata after that great Vedantist scholar. (See Bharatiya Vidya, II, pp. 129-139, and IHQ, XXVII, 1951, pp. 138ff.). But these scholars overlook the facts that the present Bhagavata, like the other Puranic works, has been revised and emended on more occasions than one, and that Samkarācārya, Magha and others' influence must be due to these revisions and emendations. On the other hand, there are evidences to prove the pre-Samkara origin of the earlier portions of the present Bhagavata. (See Hazra, Puranic Records, PP. 55-57).

sūta uvāca-313

marutām vistareņoktā vaisņavākhye mahāmate/ purane śakti-putrena purotpattiś ca vayuna / / aśvinor devayoś caiva systir uktā suvistarāt/ samksepāt tava vaksyāmi sṛṣṭim etām śṛṇuṣva me// Nar. 19. 5-6.

the story of the birth of the Asvins in chap. 84 and is declared by Vāyu, 314 but the information regarding the 'Vaisnavākhya Purāṇa' in which Sakti's son (Parāśara) was the narrator of the story of the birth of the Maruts, does not tally fully with the present Visnu-p. which, though narrated by Parasara, does not contain this story. But this absence of the story of the birth of the Maruts in the present text of the Visnu-p. must not be taken very seriously, because it can be explained away by saying that the particular Ms or recension of the present Visnu-p. which was used by the Narasimha-p. contained the above-mentioned story, and also because there are verses common to the Narasimha and the Visnu-p.315 Hence the Narasimha-p. must be dated later than the present Vayu-p. and Vișnu -p. That the Narasimha-p. was composed later than the Visnu-p. is shown by another piece of evidence. In the Visnu-p. two hairs of Visnu, one black and the other white, are said to have been incarnated as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma respectively. Thus Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are incarnations of exceedingly small portions of Visnu. But in the Narasimha-p. it is two Saktis of Visnu, one black and the other white, which appear in the forms of Kṛṣṇa and (Bala-) Rāma respectively for the destruction of Kamsa and others.317 So, the position of Krsna and Balarama as incarnations of Visnu is better in the Narasimha-p.

314 This identity seems to be supported by the verses common to the Vayu and the Narasimha-p., viz.,

Vayu-p. 6. 60-65—cf. Nar. 3. 23-28a, 9. 75ff. —cf. , 5. 3ff.

315 For instance,

Narasimha-p. Visnu-p.

3. 23-28a —cf. I. 5. 18-24.

5. 3ff. = I. 8. 1b-2; 7. 3ff.

25. 40b-41a = I. 6. 39.

316 See Visnu-p. V. 1. 59-60-

evam samstuyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvarah/ ujjahārātmanah keśau sita-kṛṣṇau mahāmune// uvāca ca surān etau mat-keśau vasudhā-tale/ avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa-hānim kariṣyatah//

317 Nar. 53. 30b-31a, 33-34a and 66. For the texts of these verses see foot-note 310 above.

than in the Viṣṇu. Now, the present Vāyu-p., with the exception of those of its chapters which were added later, being earlier than the present Viṣṇu-p., and the Viṣṇu-p. being to be dated about 300 A.D., the date of the Narasimha-p. should be palced not earlier than about 400 A.D. This upper limit of the date of the present Narasimha-p. is supported by its mention of week-days (viz., Arka-divasa and Guru-vāra) in chap. 67 (verses 8 and 10 respectively), because the earliest epigraphic mention of a week-day is found in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D.³¹⁸

Thus, the date of the present Narasimha-p. is to be placed between 400 and 500 A.D. It is highly probable that this Purana was written in the latter half of this century.

The introductory verses of the Narasimha-p. do not throw any light on the date of this Purāṇa. As all the Mss do not agree in this respect, some of these introductory verses may be later additions. Moreover, the date of these verses is uncertain. The verse 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśānta' is the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 196. 18b-19a; and the verse 'kiṃ kiṃ siṃhas tataḥ kiṃ,' being ascribed to Vyāsa in the Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya (p. 13) and Śrīdharadāsa's Sadukti-karṇāmṛta (p. 53), seems to have been taken from the Narasiṃha-p.

That a Narasimha-p. was written at a fairly early date is shown not only by its mention in Alberūnī's work³¹⁹ as well as in *all* the lists of Upapurāṇas^{3,20} except that contained in the Ekāmra-p.,³²¹ but also by

318 Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89.

319 In his account of India Alberūnī gives two lists of eighteen 'Purānas'; and of these two lists the first, which was dictated to him, consists of the following 'Purānas':—

Ādi-p., Matsya-p., Kūrma-p., Varāha-p., Narasimha-p., Vāmana-p., Vāyu-p., Nanda-p., Skanda-p., Āditya-p., Soma-p., Sāmba-p., Brahmāṇḍa-p., Mārkaṇḍeya-p., Tārkṣya-p., Viṣṇu-p., Brahma-p., Bhaviṣya-p.—See Sachau, Alberūnī's India, Vol. I, p. 130.

320 For these lists and the approximate date of formation of the group of 'eighteen Upapurāṇas', see Chap. I.

321 In its list of 'Purāṇas' the Ekāmra-p. (chap. 1) mentions the 'Nārasiṃha' in place of the 'Nāradīya'.

The Vanga. ed. of the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25.20) wrongly mentions the 'Nṛṣiṃha' as a Mahāpurāṇa in place of the Mahābhāgavata.

the Matsya-p. (53.59) which says that the Upapurāṇas, viz., Nāra-siṃha, Nandī-purāṇa, Sāmba and Āditya, were 'well-established in society' (loke......saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ), thus testifying to a much earlier date of these Upapurāṇas. But it is very difficult to say whether our present Narasiṃha-p. is the same as that mentioned in these lists and in the Matsya-p. The commentators and Nibandha-writers are, however, quite sure of the identity of the two. Of these, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin even explains the shorter form of the present Narasiṃha-p. saying, "As the number (of ślokas) of the famous Nārasiṃha is not found to be 18000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time." 322

The above date of the present Narasimha-p. must not be taken to be that of the entire Purāṇa as found in the printed edition, because in the printed edition there are chapters and verses which are decidedly later interpolations. In order to be able to find out these spurious portions a list of such chapters and verses as are not found in all the Mss of the Narasimha-p. is given below with the mention of those Mss in which they occur and also of those in which they are not found.

Chaps. and verses of Mss, in which they are Mss, in which they the printed ed. not found. occur.

ses 1-97. (1) Ms noticed by R. L. Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.

(On the story of

(2) Aufrecht's Mss.

Dhruva). (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms. (Nos. 36 and 304).³²³

(4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.

(5) Keith's Ms (Cat. No. 6618).

(6) Dacca University Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).

322 Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18—prasiddha-nārasiṃhasya aṣṭādaśa-sāhasra-saṃkhyā yady api nopalabhyate kiṃcit kāla-kramāt luptam iti pratibhāti.

323 It has already been said that the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 of the Narasimha-p. was originally numbered 298.

244

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.

Mss, in which they are not found.

Mss, in which they occur.

Mss क and ख used

in the printed ed.

- (7) R. L. Mitra's Bikaner Ms.
- (8) Ms π used in the printed ed.

Most probably also in

- (1) Eggeling's Mss, and
- (2) Keith's Mss (Cat. Nos. 6616-17).

2. Chap. 33, verses 15-85; chap. 34, verse 1.

(On the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahutoman

and Sthūlasiras).

- (1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
- (2) Aufrecht's Mss.
- (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).
- (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
- (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
- (6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms.
- (7) Ms π used in the printed ed.

Most probably also in

- (1) Eggeling's Mss, and
- (2) Keith's Mss.

3. Chap. 34, verses 43-55a. (On lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa).

4. Chap. 36, verse 9a.

(On the Buddha incarnation).

Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.

All other Mss.

- (1) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).
- (2) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
- (3) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).

(Most probably also in the Mss of Mitra, Aufrecht, Eggeling and Keith; otherwise the number of incarMss क, ख, and also ग (?) used in the printed ed. Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.

Mss, in which they are not found.

Mss, in which they occur.

nations becomes 11 and not 10 as mentioned in Nar. 54. 6—daśāvatārāḥ kathitās tavaiva harer mayā etc.).

5. Chap. 40, verses 60b - 61b; chaps. 41-43; chap. 44, verses 1-13.

Prahlāda).

(1) Ms noticed by Mitra.

(2) Aufrecht's Mss.

(3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).

(4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.

- (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
- (6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms.
- (7) Ms valued in the printed ed.

Most probably also in

- (1) Eggeling's Mss, and
- (2) Keith's Mss.

6. Chap. 54, ver-8-61.

(On the evils of the Kali age).

- (1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
- (2) Aufrecht's Mss.
- (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).
- (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
- (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
- (6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms.

Most probably also in

- (1) Eggeling's Mss, and
- (2) Keith's Mss.

7. Chap. 61. (On yoga).

- (1) Aufrecht's Mss.
- (2) Mss 布 and 硒 used in the printed ed.

Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.

Mss क, ख and ग used in the printed ed.

(1) Ms noticed by Mitra.

(2) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304). 246

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.

Mss, in which they are not found.

Mss, in which they occur.

- (3) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
- (4) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
- (5) Ms π used in the printed ed. Most probably also in (1) Eggeling's Mss, and (2) Keith's Mss.
- (r) Eggeling's Ms (Cat. No. 3378.--In its comparatively modern portion).
- (2) Mss 表 and ख used in the printed ed.

8. Chap. 63, verses 10-119a.
(On the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by mutttering the eight-syllabled mantra).

- (1) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).
- (2) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
- (3) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713 and 323)
- (In the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A chap. 57, verses 21-30, and chaps. 58-64 of the printed ed. do not occur at all).
- (4) Ms va used in the printed ed.

Most probably also in (1) the Ms noticed by Mitra, (2) Aufrecht's Mss, (3) Eggeling's Mss, and (4) Keith's Mss.

- 9. Chap. 64.
 (On the interlocution between Nārada and Puņdarīka on the glory
- (1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
- (2) Eggeling's Mss.
- (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).
- darīka on the glory (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
- (1) Aufrecht's Mss.
- (2) Eggeling's Ms (Cat.No.3378.— In its modern portion).

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed.

Mss, in which they are not found.

Mss, in which they occur.

of Nārāyaṇa).

(5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713 and 323). (In Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A chap. 57, verses 21-30 and chaps. 58-64 of the printed ed. do not occur at all).

(3) Mss क, ख and ग used in the printed ed.

Also in Keith's Mss?

10. Chap. 65. (On the 68 holy places of the Vaisnavas).

- (1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138.
- (2) Mss 来 and 每 used in the printed ed.
- (1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
- (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139.
 - (3) Eggeling's Mss
 - (4) Cal. Sans. Coll.. Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).
 - (5) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
 - (6) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
 - (7) Ms valued in the printed ed.

 Most probably also in Keith's Mss.
- (1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
- (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139.
- (3) Eggeling's Mss.
- (4) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36.
- (5) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.

- (On the praise of holy places).
- (1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138. (2) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms
- (2) Cal. Sans. Coll. M No. 304.
- (3) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A.
- (4) Mss a and we used in the printed ed.

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Chaps, and verses of the printed ed.

Mss, in which they are not found.

Mss, in which they occur.

- (6) Dacca Univ.

 Mss Nos. 2713,
 323.
- (7) Ms n used in the printed ed.
 Also in Keith's Mss?

- (On the mental tirthas, and the praise of the Narasimha-p.).
- (1) Aufrecht's Ms No. 138.(2) Cal. Sans. Coll. MsNo. 304.
- (3) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A.
- (4) Mss 事 and 평 used in the printed ed.
- (1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
- (2) Aufrecht's Ms No. 139.
- (3) Eggeling's Mss.
- (4) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36.
 - (5) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323.
 - (6) Ms T used in the printed ed.
- (1) Aufrecht's Mss.
- (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.

13. Chap. 68. (On the praise of the Narasimha-p.).

- (1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
- (2) Eggeling's Mss. (Cat. Nos. 3375-77).
- (3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss (Nos. 36, 304).
- (4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
- (5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
- (6) Ms used in the printed ed.

Also in Keith's Mss?

The above table shows that the following chapters, which are not contained in the older and better Mss, are undoubtedly spurious, viz.,

chap. 31, verses 1-97

-on the story of Dhruva,

chap. 33, verses 15-85

—on the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras,

chap. 36, v			—on the Buddha incarnation,			
chap. 40, v		1b;)	Service and an investment in the course			
chaps. 41-4		}	—on the story of Prahlāda,			
chap. 44, v	3					
chap. 54, v			-on the evils of the Kali age,			
chap. 63, v	erses 10-11	9a	-on the story of Indra's getting rid			
			of his female form by muttering			
			the eight-syllabled mantra,			
chap. 64			-on the interlocution between Nārada			
			and Pundarika on the praise of			
			Nārāyaṇa,			
chap. 68	-	oth	—on the praise of the Narasimha-p.;			
whereas the following chapters, viz.,						
chap. 34 (ve	erses 43-55	a)	-on laksa-homa and koți-homa,			
chap. 61	-	_	—on yoga,			
chap. 65	-		—on the 68 holy places of the			
			Vaisnavas,			
chap. 66	_		-on praise of holy places, and			
chap. 67	2- ga		—on the mental tirthas, and the praise			
			of the Narasimha-p.,			

though eliminated in some Mss, are genuine.

The spurious character of the chapters and verses of the former group is also shown by their position, by the nature of their insertion, as well as by other evidences. For instance, the story of Dhruva in chap. 31, verses 1-97 is inserted so abruptly that none can have the slightest doubt regarding the fact that verses 98-113 of chap. 31 are direct continuations of the verses in chap. 30. As a matter of fact, chap. 30 and verses 98-113 of chap. 31 of the printed ed. form one single chapter in a large number of Mss (such as those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic society, and Dacca University). Similarly, the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras in chap. 33 (verses 15-85) and chap. 34 (verse 1) separates verses 1-14 of chap. 33 and verses 2ff. of chap. 34 of the

³²⁴ As we have not been able to consult the other Mss of the Narasimha-p., we refer only to those of these three institutions.

printed ed. which deal with the results of offering different articles to Visnu and of rendering various kinds of service to this deity and which thus rightly form a single chapter in the above-mentioned Mss. Regarding the suprious character of verse 9a of chap. 36 much has already been said in connection with the determination of the date of this Purana. As to the chapters and verses on the story of Prahlada, they are placed between verses 1-60a of chap. 40 and verses 14ff. of chap. 44 of the printed edition which form one single chapter in the above-mentioned Mss as well as in the Ms T used in the printed edition. In these Mss, those verses, which are separated, with modifications, by the chapters on the story of Prahlada in the printed edition, read, with slight variations, as follows:

gacchadhvam adhunā devāh svasthānam vigata-jvarāh/ aham adya gamiṣyāmi indrasyendratva-siddhaye// hiranya-kasipor nāso bhavatām api vrddhaye/ yusmākam vijayāyaiva ajayāya sura-dvisām// mārkandeya uvāca/ ity uktā visņunā devā natvā visņum yayur nrpa/ bhagavān api deveso nārasimham athākarot// bahu-yojana-vistīrnam bahu-yojanam āyatam/ atiraudram mahākāyam dānavānām bhayamkaram // mahanetram mahavaktram mahadamstram mahanakham/ mahābāhum mahāpādam kālāgni-sadrsopamam// kṛtvettham narasimham tu yayau viṣṇus trivikramah/ stūyamāno muni-gaņair hiraņya-kašipoh purah// nṛṣiṃhas tatra gatvā ca mahānādam nanāda ca/ tan-nāda-śravaṇād daityā nārasimham aveṣṭayan// tān hatvā sakalāms tatra sva-pauruṣa-parākramāt/ babhañja ca sabhām divyām hiranya-kasipor nṛpa//

How these verses have been changed in the printed edition in order to accommodate the chapters on the story of Prahlada will be obvious from a comparison of these verses with Nar. 40. 60ff. and 44. 14ff. word 'yayau' in the line 'kṛtvettham nārasimham tu yayau viṣnus trivikramah', which has been retained in the printed edition, does not agree with what has been said to Visnu in the story of Prahlada. As p. really ends with chap. 67, which deals not only with the mental tirthas but also with the praise of the Purāṇa, and of which lines 24b-25a say, "Having heard (the Purāṇa topics) in company with the snātakas (i.e. the sages who took their holy bath in the Ganges), Bharadvāja remained there after showing proper respect to Sūta, but the (other) sages went away". Further, though in several places of the Narasiṃha-p. unswerving (acalā, avyabhicāriṇī) bhakti is mentioned and praised as the means of attaining the blissful state of existence, 325 it is only in some of those chapters which we have taken as spurious that there are mention and praise of dāsya-bhakti. 326 It is also noteworthy that none of these spurious chapters is referred to by any of the remaining chapters, although there are numerous cross references in the latter. 327

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325 See Nar. 7. 33; 9. 6; 10. 49 and 51; 11. 56 and θ0; 32, 10; and so on.
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326 Cf. prahlādo 'thābravīd dhīmān deva janmāntareṣv api/ dāsas tavāham bhūyāsam garutmān iva bhaktimān//

Nar. 43. 78b-79a;

dāso'ham vāsudevasya deva-devasya śārngiṇaḥ/
ity ukto nāradenāsau bhakti-paryākulātmanā// Nar. 64. 46;
janmāntara-sahasreṣu yasya syād buddhir īdṛśī/
dāso'ham vāsudevasya deva-devasya śārngiṇaḥ/
prayāti viṣṇu-sālokyam puruṣo nātra saṃśayaḥ// Nar. 64. 94-95a.

Also cf. Nar. 64. 116-117.

In Nar. 33. 31 the demon Bahuroman says how in one of his previous births as a Brahmin named Raivata, he was killed by the city-guards in a Viṣṇu-temple and was taken to heaven in a car which was 'prabhu-dasa-samanvita'.

327 Nar. 6. 2 refers to Nar. 5. 2; Nar. 19. 4 refers to Nar. 5. 46-47; Nar. 20. 1 refers to Nar. 19. 23; Nar. 24. 1 (prathamam tāvat svāyambhuvam manvantaram tat-svarūpam kathitam) refers to Nar. 3. 8-9 and Nar. 5. 20ff.; Nar. 24. 17c (pūrvoktaś chāyāyām utpanno manuh.....) refers to Nar. 19. 13 and 15; Nar. 29. 9b (tasya caritam upariṣṭād bhaviṣyati) refers to Nar. 32ff.; Nar. 32. 1 refers to Nar. 29. 9; Nar. 32. 1-2 and 8 refer to chaps. 36ff. on incarnations of Viṣṇu; Nar. 35.2 refers to Nar. 34. 47 (on koṭi-homa); Nar. 36.1 refers to Nar. 32. 1-2 and 8; Nar. 55. 1 refers to Nar. 45. 35-36; Nar. 62. 2 refers to Nar. 58. 92b-93a. The words 'kā vāvasthā kalau yuge' in Nar. 1. 20a refers to Nar. 54. 1-6 and not to the section on 'kali-yuga-lakṣaṇa' occurring in Nar. 54. 8-61.

The above table further shows that there were distinct stages in the process of addition and elimination of chapters and verses. For instance, Ms π (used in the printed ed.) interpolates chaps. 36 (verse 9a), 54 (verses 8-61) and 64, but eliminates nothing; Dacca University Ms No. 284A interpolates nothing but eliminates chaps. 66 and 67; and Aufrecht's Ms No. 139 interpolates chaps. 64 and 68 and eliminates chap. 61. Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 not only combines all the interpolations and eliminations of the Dacca University Ms (No. 284A) and Aufrecht's Ms No. 139 but also eliminates one chapter more, viz., chap. 65. Mss π and π (used in the printed ed.) go a step further not only by combining all the interpolations and eliminations of Ms π and Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 but also by interpolating chaps. 31 (verses 1-97), 33 (verses 15-85), 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43, 44 (verses 1-13) and 63 (verses 10-119a).

Even among the chapters other than those which have been differentiated above as spurious, there are some which are most probably comparatively late additions. Such chapters are especially Nar. 6 (on the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya as sons of Mitra and Varuṇa) and Nar. 7-18 (on the story of Mārkaṇḍeya, the story of Yama and Yamī, etc. narrated by Vyāsa to Suka). In Nar. 5. 48ff. the names of those thirteen daughters of Dakṣa who were given in matriage to Kaśyapa, are the following:—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Ariṣṭā, Svarasā, Svasā, Surabhi, Vinatā, Tāmrā, Krodha-vaśā, Irā, Kadrū and Muni; but in Nar. 6. 4-8 the list of the names of the 'thirteen daughters' married to Kaśyapa omits Ariṣṭā and Tāmrā but adds Kālā, Muhūrtā, Siṃhikā and Saramā, thus increasing the number to fifteen. Even in the Mss preserved in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Asiatic Society (Calcutta), and Dacca University the names of these 'thirteen daughters' are different from those given in chap. 5. 328 It is to be

These names, as given in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University Mss of the Narasimha-p., are as follows: Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālā (Kāli' according to Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A), Muhūrtā, Simhikā, Muni, Vratā ('Tāmrā' according to Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713), Krodhā, Surabhi, Vinatā, Surasā (Calcutta. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 304—Svarasā; Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713—'Sarasā' after marginal correction), Khasā (according to Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 and Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713), Kadru (or Kadrū), Saramā.

noted that in Nar. 5. 43 Muhūrtā is said to have been given in marriage to Dharma. This disagreement between chap. 5 (which deals with pratisarga and cannot, therefore, be spurious) and chap. 6 seems to indicate the spurious character of the latter. In order to introduce this chapter the interpolator adds verse 2 (mitrā-varuna-putratvam vasiṣṭhasya katham bhavet, etc.) of chap. 5. It is, however, not improbable that only verses 6-8a (containing the names of the '13 daughters') are spurious, and not the entire chap. 6. As to the chaps. 7-18 (on the story of Mārkandeya, etc.), their introductory verse is as follows:

mārkaņdeyena muninā katham mrtyuh parājitah/ etad ākhyāhi me sūta tvayaitat sūcitam purā//

Though in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. there is no verse containing the mention of Mārkaṇḍeya or of the way of his subduing Death, the expression 'tvayaitat sūcitaṃ purā' refers to the following verses (which occurred among those 12 verses which have been lost after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed ed. but are found in chap. 5 of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic Society, and Dacca University Mss):

bhṛgoḥ khyātyām samutpannā lakṣmīṛ viṣṇu-parigrahaḥ/, tathā dhātā-vidhātārau khyātyām jātau sutau bhṛgoḥ// āyatir niyatiś caiva meroḥ kanye suśobhane/, dhātur vidhātuś ca te bhārye tayor jātau sutāv ubhau// prāṇaś caiva mṛkaṇḍuś ca mārkaṇḍeyo mṛkaṇḍutaḥ/ yena mṛtyur jito vipra purā nārāyaṇāśrayāt//

Hence the absence of the verse containing the mention of Mārkaņdeya in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. is no cause for taking chaps. 7-18 as spurious. These chapters are considered as interpolated, because Nar. 19. 4 refers to Nar. 5. 46-47 ignoring the intervening chaps. 7-18 and because Mārkaṇḍeya, who is called the great-grandson of Bhṛgu in the lost verses mentioned above, is mentioned as Bhṛgu's grandson in chaps. 7-12.³²⁹ Of these twelve intervening chapters (7-18), chaps. 7-12 (dealing with the story of Mārkaṇḍeya) differ from chaps. 13-18 in certain matters. In the former six chapters (7-12) the use of the twelve-syllabled mantra 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'

³²⁹ See Nar. 7, 10-12, 25, 27 etc.; 8. 3 and 10; 9. 13; 12. 65.

is prescribed more than once; the name 'Kṛṣṇa' for Viṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) is given on many occasions; and the names 'Devakīnandana,' 'Vāsudeva' etc. also are found. Once Yama says,

"sugatim abhilaṣāmi vāsudevād
aham api bhagavate sthitāntarātmā/,
madhu-vadha-vaśago 'smi na svatantraḥ
prabhavati saṃyamane mamāpi kṛṣṇaḥ//'

Hence these chapters, though not recognising Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat himself, have a Bhāgavata tinge. On the other hand, chaps. 13-18 have a Pāñcarātra stamp, because in these chapters Nārāyaṇa and the eight-syllabled mantra 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya' are praised, and there is no mention of the name 'Kṛṣṇa'. That chap. 13 is a later addition is also shown by the absence of praise of Viṣṇu or Vaiṣṇavism in this chapter (dealing with Yama-yamī-saṃvāda) except in the line 'cittaṃ me nirmalaṃ bhadre viṣṇau rudre ca saṃsthitam' (spoken by Yama to Yamī) which gives, unlike the other chapters, the same place to Viṣṇu and Rudra. As the interlocutors Suka and Vyāsa of chaps. 13-18 are first introduced in chap. 7, these chapters are most probably later than chaps. 7-12.

From what has been said above regarding the addition and elimination of chapters and verses in the present Narasimha-p., it is clear that this Purāṇa has been revised on more occasions than one. A comparison between the texts of the same extracts as quoted by different Smrti-writers and occurring in the printed ed., also lends strong support in this direction. The verses and even large extracts,

330 For instance, a comparison between Nar. 34. 6-12 and these very verses as quoted by Narasimha Vājapeyin in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, pp. 558-560, shows how single lines of the quoted passage have been expanded into verses in the printed ed. For example, the line 'toyena bhaktyā saṃsnāpya viṣṇu-loke mahīyate' (in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 558)=the verse 'snāpya toyena payasā narasiṃhaṃ narādhipa/ sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahīyate//' (Nar. 34. 6); the line 'snāpya dadhnā sakṛd viṣṇuṃ viṣṇu-lokam avāpnuyāt' (in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 558)=the verse 'snāpya dadhnā sakṛd yas tu nirmalaḥ priya-darśanaḥ/ viṣṇu-lokam avāpnoti pūjyamānaḥ surottamaiḥ//' (Nar. 34. 7); and so on, Again, a comparison between the texts of the verses quoted from the Narasiṃha-p. in Madana-pārijāta, pp. 301-2, Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 411 and

quoted by Hemādri from the 'Narasimha-p.' on different kinds of Vratas³³¹ and donations but not found in the present Narasimha-p., show that the text of this Purāṇa as used by Hemādri was more extensive. Narasimha Vājapeyin explains the smaller bulk of the present Narasimha-p. saying, "As the number (of ślokas) of the famous Nārasimha is not found to be 18000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time." 332

The mention of Tulasī in chaps. 31 (verse 87) and 34 (verses 19 and 23) and in the additional verses contained in the Mss (preserved in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic Society, Dacca University, etc.) in their chapters corresponding to chap. 57 of the printed ed., should not be taken to go against the above date of the Narasimha-p. This mention is certainly due to later revisions of the Purāṇa; because; of the above-mentioned chapters containing the mention of Tulasī, chap. 31 (verses 1-97) has been found to be spurious; and Nar. 34. 19 does not occur in the Ms 71 used in the printed ed. Moreover, in chap. 33, which deals with the results of various kinds of service rendered to Viṣṇu and of offering different articles to this deity, there is mention of 'bilva-patra' but not of Tulasī; nor is Tulasī mentioned in chaps. 56 (on the method of viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship).

It is probably due to the repeated revisions of the present Narasimha-p. that there are disagreements between a number of statements even in those chapters which cannot be taken as spurious. For instance, in Nar. 3. 8 Sväyambhuva Manu is said to have been the son of Dakṣa and his wife born respectively from Brahmā's right and left thumbs, but in Nar. 5. 22 Sväyambhuva Manu is said to have given his daughter Prasūti in marriage to Dakṣa; in Nar. 3. 3-5 Rudra is said to have been born of Brahmā's rage (roṣa), but in Nar. 5. 4-5 it is said that when Brahmā was thinking of some worthy

Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 617 shows that the texts of the Narasimha-p. used by Raghunandana and Narasimha Vājapeyin agree more with that of the printed ed. than with the text used by Madanapāla.

³³¹ Viz., Narasimha-caturdaśi-vrata, Hari-vrata, Pātra-vrata, etc.

³³² Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18.

son at the beginning of the Brāhma Kalpa, the blue-red (nīla-lohita) Rudra is said to have appeared on Brahmā's lap as a child with a body half male and half female; in Nar. 4. 2-4 Brahmā is said to have created from his mind ten sons (viz., Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulaha, Kratu, Pulastya, Pracetas, Bhṛgu, Nārada and Vasiṣṭha), of whem Nārada took to abstention (nivṛtti-dharma), but in Nar. 5. 17-19 Brahmā is said to have created nine sons (Marīci and others, except Nārada) who were known as 'nine Brahmās'; and so on.

Though the Narasimha-p. proposes to give 'in brief' (samksepat) the genealogies of kings which were 'elaborately dealt with in the Purāṇas,'333 the defects, found in these genealogies, seem to be due as much to the carelessness of the people of later ages in maintaining the correctness of these dynastic lists in their respective Mss as to their attempt at abridgment. For instance, in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed edition as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A mentions Aja as the son of Dīrghabāhu, but the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713, though following the printed ed. in chap. 27, give the pedigree of Aja as 'dīrghabāhor dilīpaḥ dilīpād raghuh raghor ajah' in chap. 22; in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed ed. as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A makes Mandhatr the son of Asamhatasva (v. l. Asamkhyātāśva in chap. 22 of the printed ed.), but in chap. 27 they give a popular verse in which Māndhātṛ is called Yauvanāśva (i.e. son of Yuvanāśva); the latter pedigree of Mandhatr is supported by the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713 which mention Mandhatr as the son of Yuvanaśva in chap. 24 (yuvanāśvān māndhātā); after Nar. 27. 1 the Mss used in the printed ed. have lost an extract334 which is found in a large number of Mss (such as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304

³³³ Nar. 22. 2. Also see Nar. 23. 1.

³³⁴ The text of this extract, as reconstructed from the Cal. Sans. Coll. and Dacca Univ. Mss, runs as follows: 'tat-putro venas tasya pṛthus tasya pṛthāśvah/ dharmato harim ananta-śayanam ārādhya bhaktyā kratubhiś ceṣṭvā svarlokaṃ gatāḥ/'

and Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713 and 284A); and so on. There are, of course, a few cases in which the disagreements are either to be removed by referring to other better Mss or to be ascribed to the revisions to which the extant Narasimha-p. was subjected. For instance, different pedigrees of Soma are given in chaps. 23 and 28 of the printed edition as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and the Dacca University Mss; in chap. 22 Saudāsa's son is called Satrumdama in the printed edition as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Satrundana in the Dacca Uiiversity Ms No. 2713, but in chap. 27 he is called Satrasava in the printed edition and the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304, Satreśvara in the Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Satyaśrava in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713; and so on.

The disagreements in the names and pedigrees of some of the kings in chaps. 22-23 (on the genealogies of the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties) on the one hand and chaps. 27-29 (on vamsanucarita, i. e. the accounts of the kings of these dynasties) on the other, are not real but are due to the editor of this Purana who has not used a sufficient number of Mss for his edition. For instance, in chap. 22 the name of Prthaśva's son is given as Asamkhyataśva in the printed ed. and Asamhatāsva in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304, but in the Dacca University Mss as well as in the Calcutta Sankrit College Ms No. 36 he is named as Samhatāśva, while in chap. 27 he is called Asamhatāśva in the printed ed. as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and Dacca University Mss; in chap. 22 Māndhātr's son is called Purukutsa in the printed ed. as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A and 2713, but in chap. 27 Mandhatr's son is named Purukuśya in the printed ed., Kurupuccha in the Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Purukutsa in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss and the Dacca University Ms No. 2713; in chap. 22 Dīrghabāhu's father is named Anarana in the printed ed. and Anaranya in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and Dacca University Mss as well as in the Ms T used in the printed ed., but in chap. 27 he is called Anarana

in all these sources; in chap. 22 Padma's son is Anuparṇa in the printed ed. and Rtuparṇa in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and in the Dacca Vniversity Mss, but in chap. 27 he is called Rtuparṇa in all these sources; 335 and so on.

Though the Matsya-p., 336 the Skanda-p. 337 and the Revā-māhāt-mya³³⁸ attach the 'Narasimha-p.' to the Padma-p. as a sub-division (upabheda) of the latter, the present Narasimha-p. always calls itself a 'Purāṇa'³³⁹ and never an 'Upapurāṇa', nor does it attach itself to any Mahāpurāṇa for the sake of authority. As a matter of fact, in chap. 1, verses 33-34 it speaks of the five characteristics of 'Purāṇa', viz., sarga, pratisarga, vaṃśa, manvantara and vaṃśānucarita and proposes to deal with all these topics, and in chap. 67 verses 17-18 it says that it has dealt with the five topics, viz., sarga, pratisarga etc; but it betrays no knowledge of the Upapurāṇas. So, it is evident that though according to the later tradition the Narasimha-p. is classed as an Upapurāṇa, it is really an independent 'Purāṇa' like the Vāyu, Viṣṇu etc.

It has already been said that the present Narasimha-p. knows the extant Vāyu and Viṣṇu and the earlier Varāha-p. Its mention of the word 'Purāṇa' in the plural number on several occasions to mean

335 Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 names Padma's son as Rtaparna in both the chapters (22 and 27).

upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratiṣṭhitāh/
pādme purāne tatroktam narasimhopavarṇanam/
taccāṣṭādaśa-sāhasram nārasimham ihocyate// Mat. 53. 59.

This verse is quoted by Hemādri (in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533, and II. i, p. 21), Caṇḍeśvara (in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 31), Narasiṃha Vājapeyin (in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18), Jīva Gosvāmin (in his commentary, called Krama-saṃdarbha, on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22), and Mitra Miśra (in his Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14). Caṇḍeśvara and Mitra Miśra do not quote the first line.

- 337 VII (Prabhāsa-kh.). i. 2. 79b-80 (these lines are the same as Mat. 53, 59 quoted above); V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 48a.
- 338 See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65. The Revā-māhātmya claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p.
- 339 See Nar. 1, 15; 1, 24; 1, 29; 67, 17; 67, 21, 22 and 25. See also the chapter-colophons. In the Mss also, the Narasimha-p, is called a 'Purāṇa'.

distinct Purāṇic works, shows that more Purāṇas than one came into existence before its composition. It is not known whether the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. or the Viṣṇudharmottara is referred to in chap. 10 (verses 54-55) which seems to be a later addition.

A careful examination of the original and the spurious chapters of the present Narasimha-p. shows that this Purāṇa was originally a work of the Pāńcarātra sect with remarkable Bhāgavata inclination. The Pāńcarātras themselves added a few more chapters and extracts at a later date. It was then considerably changed by the Bhāgavatas with further additions and alterations.

The entire Narasimha-p., as we have it now, is not composed in verse. There are a few chapters and extracts which are written in simple prose. These are the following:—Nar. 19. 7-23 (on the birth of the Aśvins); chap. 21 (on the origin of the Maruts); 22. 4-15 (on the names of the kings of the Solar race); 23. 2-13 (on the names of the kings of the Lunar race); 24. 1-36 (on the Manvantaras); 27. 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the Solar race); 28. 1-16 (on the accounts of the kings of the Lunar race); 29. 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the Lunar race); 30. 2-16 (except 5, which is a verse); 52. 25-31. A portion of chap. 9 is written in Puspitāgrā (also called Aupacchandasika).

The language of the Narasimha-p. contains numerous solecisms. For instance, it has 'abhūvan' for 'abhavan' (Nar. 1. 62), 'vyajāyata' for 'vyajanayat' (Nar. 5. 21), 'jajñe' for 'janayāmāsa' (Nar. 5. 29, 31 and 35), 'snāyantī' for 'snāntī' (Nar. 6. 26), 'vedavidaiḥ' for 'vedavidbhiḥ' (6. 46) 'susaṅgītavidaiḥ' for '-vidbhiḥ' (34. 36), 'mātrpitarau' for 'mātā-pitarau' (7. 14), 'vīkṣayāmāsa' for 'vīkṣāmāsa' (14. 23), 'vartatīm' for 'vartamānām' (19. 15), 'manujām' for 'manujānām' (18. 12), 'pravartatīm' for 'ptavartamānām' (19. 17), and so on.

Like the other Purāṇic works, the Narasiṃha-p. also tries to give itself a garb of great sanctity and high antiquity by tracing its descent from Brahmā. In chap. 67, verses 19-22 it gives the following

³⁴⁰ See Nar. 1. 24 (vyāsa-prasādāj jānāmi purāṇāni tapodhanāḥ); 22. 2 (rājñāṃ vaṃśaḥ purāṇeṣu vistareṇa prakīrtitaḥ); 56. 10b-11a; 58. 108.

tradition of inheritance: — Brahmā himself spoke out this Purāṇa to the sages Marīci and others; the next recipient was Mārkaṇḍeya, who then narrated it to a king of the Nāga family; ³⁴¹ Vyāsa then received it through Narasiṃha's favour.

Nar. 57 (verses 8 to the end) and 58-61, which deal with the duties of the four castes and orders of life, are found printed word for word under the title Hārīta-saṃhitā in the Ūnaviṃśati Saṃhitā.342 These chapters also appear as Laghu-hārīta-smṛti in Jīvānanda Vidyā-sāgara's Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha (Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.). Now, the question arises as to whether it was the Hārīta-saṃhitā (or Laghu-hārīta-smṛti) which was incorporated in the present Narasiṃha-p., or the above-mentioned chapters of the Narasiṃha-p. were given the character of an independent Smṛti work under the title 'Hārīta-saṃhitā' (or 'Laghu-hārīta-smṛti'). An examination of the Hārīta-saṃhitā shows that it was the above-mentioned chapters of the present Narasiṃha-p. which were taken off and given the form of an independent work under the title 'Hārīta-saṃhitā' or 'Laghu-hārīta-smṛti' which was derived from the name of the original speaker Hārīta. The Hārīta-saṃhitā begins as follows:

ye varnāśrama-dharmasthās te bhaktāḥ keśavaṃ prati/
iti pūrvaṃ tvayā proktaṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ svar dvijottamāḥ//
varnānām āśramāṇāṃ ca dharmān no brūhi sattama/
yena saṃtuṣyate devo nārasiṃhaḥ sanātanaḥ//
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca/
atrāhaṃ kathayiṣyāmi purā-vṛttam anuttamam/
ṛṣibhiḥ saha saṃvādaṃ hārītasya mahātmanaḥ//

Of these verses, which are the same as Nar. 57. 8-10, the first shows that something has already been said, of which these verses form a continuation; and in fact the first verse points to Nar. 57. 2-7

³⁴¹ For the reading 'rājño nāga-kulasya ha' of the printed ed., the Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 reads 'rājño vai nākulasya ca' and the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 323 and 2713 have 'rājño vai nākulasya ha' and 'rājño vai nahuṣasya ha'

³⁴² Edited (with a Bengali translation) by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1316 B. S.

wherein Mārkaṇdeya, being asked by king Sahasrānīka, enumerates the characteristics of the devotees of Viṣṇu thus:

viṣṇu-bhaktā mahotsāhā viṣṇvarcana-vidhau sadā/ saṃyatā dharma-saṃpannāḥ sarvārthān sādhayanti te// paropakāra-niratā guru-śuśrūṣaṇe ratāh/ varṇāśramācāra-yutāḥ sarveṣāṃ supriyaṃvadāḥ// etc.

Though from a perusal of the Harīra-samhita we understand that Mārkandeya reports to a king named Sahasrānīka what Hārīta said to the sages on the duties of the four castes and orders of life, nothing is said in the Hārīta-samhitā either about the identity of these two persons or about the occasion, time or place in which they met each other. Even the name of the king is given as late as in chap. 7 (verse 20). But it is the Narasimha-p. which tells us who king Sahasrānīka was and how he met the sage Markandeya. We have already said that the Narasimha-p. is a work meant for the glorification of the worship of Narasimha. This character is betrayed by the Haritasamhitā also.343 Moreover, none of the quotations made in their works by Viśvarūpa, Aparārka, Bhavadeva, Jīmūtavāhana, Devanabhatta and Aniruddha-bhatta from Hārīta, Vṛddha-hārīta, Laghuhārīta, Brhaddhārīta and Svalpa-hārīta is to be met with in our socalled Harita-samhita. On the other hand, some of the quotations made by Apararka from the 'Nrsimha-p.' are traceable in the Haritasamhitā. For example,

the verses quoted from the 'Nṛ-siṃha-p.' in Aparārka's comment- Hārīta-saṃhitā ary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti,

p. 79 = 3. 12; p. 125 = 4. 18-20; p. 153 = 4. 60-61; p. 189 = 4. 71, 72a and 73a; p. 965 = 6. 11b-22.

These show that the chapters, now known as Hārīta-samhitā or

³⁴³ See its introductory verse quoted above; see also Hārīta-saṃhitā 2. 9; 4. 75-76a; 7. 19.

Laghu-hārīta-smṛti, originally belonged to the Narasimha-p. These chapters seem to be based on different Smṛti works such as the Parā-śara-smṛti and the Hārīta-dharmaśāstra (as known to Devaṇabhaṭṭa); because Parāśara-smṛti 1.50 (vaiśvadeve tu saṃprāpte etc.) greatly resembles Nar. 58. 100-101a (akṛte vaiśvadeve tu etc.), and the verse 'anena vidhinā yo hi āśramān upasevate etc.', quoted from the 'Hārīta-dharma-śāstra' in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 174, slightly resembles Nar.

58. 37 (evam yo vidhim āsthāya etc.).

Here we should like to say a few words on the contents of the Narasimha-p. as known to some of the Nibandha-writers. In his Smrti-tattva, I, p. 351 Raghunandana quotes from the 'Narasimha-p.' twenty-four metrical lines on general maxims (naya), such as 'One should give salutary advice to his friend in proper time, even though he may not be asked for it,' 'One, who believes the servants of the king or the bastards, do not live long', 'One should not allow the remaining part of the enemies, debt and fire to continue, because these increase again,' 'One should not begin any work which may create repentance in the end,' and so on. He also quotes in Smrti-tattva, I, p. 827 a verse on the proper time for marriage. In his Smrti-tattva, II, p. 66 Raghunandana quotes from the same source a verse in which 'Tulasi' and 'Kṛṣṇa-tulasi' have been mentioned as pleasing to Hari. In his Vidhāna-pārijāta, I, p. 451 Anantabhatta quotes from the 'Nārasmha' seventeen metrical lines on dressing a child with clothes for the first time. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II, ii. pp. 41-49 Hemādri quotes a large extract of 173 metrical lines on a vow called Narasimhacaturdasī which was given in the 'Narasimha-p.' in connection with the Narasimha-prādurbhāva. In this extract Nṛsimha, being asked by Prahlada as to how he became devoted to Nṛṣiṃha and was blessed with good, says that in his previous birth Prahlada was a Brahmin named Vāsudava and was addicted to a prostitute and that this Vāsudeva performed no other good deed than a Vrata of Nṛsiṃha. Prahlāda again asked Nrsimha to narrate in details the whole story. Consequently Nrsimha said that in the city of Avanti there was a famous Brahmin named Susarman who mastered all the Vedas and performed all his duties. This Susarman had a chaste and devoted wife named

Suśīlā, who gave birth to five worthy sons, of whom Vāsudeva was the youngest. Unlike the other brothers, Vasudeva was addicted to prostitutes, became a drunkard, and stole gold for financing his evil deeds. Once he quarrelled with a prostitute and kept awake throughout the whole night without taking food. The prostitute also did so. Thus, Vāsudeva unconsciously performed the Vrata of Nṛṣiṃha, was born as Prahlada, and became devoted to Nrsimha. The prostitute became an Apsaras. Next, being asked by Prahlada to describe the Vrata in details, Nṛṣiṃha did so. Hemādri also quotes verses on Hari-vrata, Pātra-vrata, and offer of different articles such as kamandalu, fruits, foot-wears, umbrella, clothes etc. to the Pitrs in śrāddha ceremonies. Sūlapāņi quotes verses on śrāddha in his Vrata-kālaviveka, Śrāddha-viveka and Tithi-viveka. In his Caitanya-caritāmṛta, III, pp. 67 and 289 Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja quotes from the 'Nṛṣiṃha-p.' three verses, in one of which it is said that even a Mleccha (i. e. a Muhammadan), who, being attacked by a boar, cries out 'Hārāma' 'Hārāma' ('Boar', 'Boar'), attains final emancipation. 344 It is needless to say that none of these verses is found in the present Narasimha-p.

In his Haribhaktivilāsa, pp. 923-7 and 929-931 Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes, from the 'Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.', 126 metrical lines on Narasiṃha-caturdaśī-vrata. As all these verses are found ascribed to the 'Narasiṃha-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii. pp. 41-49, it seems that either Gopālabhaṭṭa was wrong in his ascription of these verses or the 'Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.' derived some of its extracts and verses from the Narasiṃha-p. In the Ekāmra-p. (chap.1) the 'Bṛhannarasiṃha-p.' has been clearly distinguished from the 'Nārasiṃha', the former being included among the Upapurāṇas and the latter among the principal Purāṇas.

[(A). Many Mss of the Narasimha-p. (including those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University) have the follow-

ing verses after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed edition: -

prītyām pulastya-bhāryāyām dattolis tat-suto'bhavat/tasya vai viśravāḥ putras tat-putrā rāvaṇādayaḥ//

daṃṣṭri-daṃṣṭrā-hato mleccho hārāmeti punaḥ punaḥ/ uktvāpi muktim āpnoti kim punaḥ śraddhayā gṛṇan//

rākṣasā bahavaḥ proktā laṅkāpura-nivāsinaḥ/ yeṣām vadhāya lokeśo viṣṇuh kṣīrodadhau purā/ brahmādyaih prārthito devair avatāram ihākarot// karddamaś cambarīṣaś ca sahiṣṇuś ca suta-trayam/ kṣamā tu suṣuve bhāryā pulahasya prajāpateḥ// kratos tu sannatir bhāryā bālakhilyān asūyata/ șașțis tāni sahasrāņi ṛṣīṇām ūrdhva-retasām// anguṣṭha-parva-mātrāṇām jvalad-bhāskara-tejasām// pracetaso'tha satyāyām satyasandhās trayah sutāh/ jātās tat-putra-pautrāś ca śataśo'tha sahasraśah// ūrjāyām ca vasisthasya saptājāyanta vai sutāh/ rajogātrordhvabāhuś ca sabalaś cānaghas tathā/ sutapāh śukra ity ete sarve saptarsayo 'bhavan // bhrgoh khyātyām samutpannā laksmīr visņu-parigrahah/ tathā dhātr-vidhātārau khyātyām jātau sutau bhṛgoh// āyatir niyatis caiva meroh kanye susobhane/ dhātur vidhātuś ca te bhārye tayor jātau sutāv ubhau// prāņas caiva mṛkaṇḍus ca mārkaṇḍeyo mṛkaṇḍutaḥ/ yena mṛtyur jito vipra purā nārāyaṇāśrayāt// tato vedaśirā jajńe pranasyapi suto'bhavat/ dyutimān iti vikhyātah sanjayas tat-suto'bhavat// tato vaṃśo mahābhāga bhārgavo vistaraṃ gataḥ//

See, for instance, chap. 5 of Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 (fol. 7a-b) and 304 (fols. 6b-7a) and Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A (fols. 8b-9b), 323 (fols. 9b-10a), and 2713 (fol. 7a-b). There are some variations in readings in these Mss, which need not be noted here.

(B) After verse 7 of chap. 57 of the printed edition, many Mss including those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University) have the following verses:—

puspair aranya-sambhūtaih patrair vā giri-sambhavaih/aparyusita-niśchidraih proksitair jantu-varjitaih//ātmārāmodbhavair vāpi puspaih sampūjayeddharim/puspa-jāti-viśeṣais tu bhavet punyam viśeṣatah//

tapah-śīla-gunopeta-pātre vedasya pārage/ daśa dattvā suvarnāni yat phalam labhate narah/ tat phalam labhate martyo harau kumuda-danatah// drona-puspe tathaikasmin mādhavāya nivedite/ daśa dattvā suvarņāni yat phalam tad avāpnuyāt// evam puspa-visesena phalam tad adhikam nṛpa/ jñeyam puspāntareņaiva yathā syāt tannibodha me// drona-puspa-sahasrebhyah khādiram vai viśisyate/ khādirebhyah sahasrebhyah samī-puspam visisyate// śamī-puṣpa-sahasrebhyo bilva-puṣpaṃ viśiṣyate/ bilva-puspa-sahasrebhyo vaka-puspam visisyate// vaka-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi nandyāvartam viśiṣyate/ nandyāvarta-sahasrebhyaḥ karavīram visisyate// karavīra-sahasrebhyah śvetam tat puspam uttamam/ karavīra-śveta-puṣpāt plalāśam puṣpam uttamam// palāśa-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi kuśa-paṣpam viśiṣyate/ kuśa-puspa-sahasrāddhi vanamālā viśisyate// vanamālā-sahasrāddhi campakam puspam isyate/ campakānām puspa-śatād aśokam puspam uttamam// aśokānām sahasrāddhi samantī-puṣpam uttamam/ samanti-puspa-sahasrāddhi kubjakam puspam uttamam// kubja-puspa-sahasrānām mālatī-puspam uttamam/ mālatī-puspa-sahasrāddhi sandhyāraktam taduttamam// sandhyārakta-sahasrāddhi trisandhyāsvetam uttamam/ trisandhyāśveta-sahasrāt kunda-puspam viśisyate// kunda-puspa-sahasrāddhi śatapatram viśisyate/ śatapatra-sahasrāddhi mallikā-puṣpam uttamam// mallikā-puṣpa-sahasrāj jāti-puṣpaṃ viśiṣyate/ sarvāsām puṣpa-jātīnām jāti-puṣpam ihottamam// jāti-puṣpa-sahasreṇa yo mālām nityaśo dadet/ viṣṇave vidhivad bhaktyā tasya puṇya-phalaṃ śṛṇu// kalpa-koți-sahasrāņi kalpa-koți-śatāni ca/ vased viṣṇupure śrīmān viṣṇu-tulya-parākramaḥ// śeṣāṇām puṣpa-jātīnām yat phalam vidhinoditam/ tat-phalasyānusāreņa visņu-loke mahīyate//

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patrāny api supuspāni hareḥ prītikarāni ca/
pravakṣyāmi nṛpa-śreṣṭha śṛṇuṣva gadato mama//
apāmārga-patram prathamam tasmād bhṛṅgārakam param/
tasmāt tu khādiram śreṣṭham tataś ca śami-patrakam//
dūrvā-patram tataḥ śreṣṭham tato'pi kuśa-patrakam/
tasmād āmalakam śreṣṭham tato bilvasya patrakam//
bilva-patrād api hares tulasī-patram uttamam//
eteṣām tu yathālabdhaiḥ patrair vā yo'rcayeddharim/
sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahīyate//

evam hi rājan narasimha-mūrteh prīyāṇi puṣpāṇi taveritāni/ etaiś ca nityaṃ harim arcya bhaktyā naro viśuddho harim eva yāti//

See, for instance, chap. 51 of Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 (fols. 77a-78a) and 304 (fols. 82b-83b) and Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A (fols. 118a-119a), 323 (fols. 114a-115a) and 2713 (fols. 86b-87b). There are many variations in readings in these Mss, but these need not be noted here.

Many of these verses are the same as Bhav. I. 163. 57ff. From the position of these verses in the Narasimha-p. it seems that the Narasimha-p. is the borrower. As Gopālabhaṭṭa, Narasimha Vājapeyin, Raghunandana, Govindānanda, Madanapāla and Devaṇabhaṭṭa quote many of these verses in their respective works, it is sure that these verses have been occurring in the Narasimha-p. from a time earlier than Devaṇabhaṭṭa.]

CHAPTER IV

THE MINOR VAISŅAVA UPAPURĀŅAS

Besides the Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas examined in the immediately preceding Chapter there were many others which dealt with the cult of Viṣṇu and belonged to comparatively late dates; but of these, only a few have come down to us, the rest appearing to have been extinct on account of their importance being restricted to particular localities or times. As, due to various inconveniences, I could not get access to the manuscripts of all those of these extant Upapurāṇas which have not yet been published, my treatment of these works could not be expected to be exhaustive. I should, however, point out that the minor Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, left out of consideration here, are very few (being about two or three in number) and come from very late dates.

From our examination of the Upapurāṇas below we shall see that many of these works were compiled in eastern India, especially in Bengal, under varying circumstances created by the spread of the heresies, mainly Buddhism, and the Tantric cults. A study of the history of Vaiṣṇavism shows that this religious faith, being more closely connected with the Vedas than Saivism, Sāktism etc., has been used in different ages as a corrective of social indiscipline caused and encouraged by the heresies and the popular cults. Moreover, there were changes in the ideas, rites and customs of the Vaiṣṇavas with the progress of time, and these also must have given them impetus to compile new Upapurāṇic works for the guidance of the people.

1. THE KRIYĀYOGASĀRA1

In the chapter-colophons of its printed editions as well as of its Mss this work claims to belong to the Padma-p. Hence it has been regarded as one of the Khandas of the latter and printed accordingly

The Vanga ed. of this work consists of 26 chapters and is practically the same as that published with the Venkat. ed. of the Padma-p.

in the Venkat. ed. of the Padma-p. with the words 'atha kriyāyogasāra-khanḍam ārabhyate'. But really it is a distinct and independent work attached, most probably at a later date, to the Padma-p. for the sake of authority. It begins like other independent Purāṇic works and styles itself 'Upapurāṇa' in its concluding verse; and nowhere in the

For Mss of this work see

(1) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1224-25, No. 3898 (complete in 25 chapters and ending with the words 'samāptam cedam upapurāṇam iti').

(2) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 14, No. 55 (complete in 25 chapters), and

p. 15, No. 56 (incomplete).

- (3) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 195, No. 3458, and pp. 199-202, Nos. 3464-69. (Of these Mss, No. 3465 begins from chap. 3 of the printed ed., consists of 24 chapters, and is dated Saka 1618; Nos. 3466 and 3469 are incomplete; and the rest are complete in 25 chapters each).
 - (4) Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 113-6, No. 1162 (complete in 25 chapters).
- (5) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, p. 185, No 299 (complete in 25 chapters).
- (6) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. i, p. 919, No. 6625 (containing 24 chapters, of which the last deals with 'atithi-māhātmya' and is the same as chap. 25 of the printed ed.).
 - (7) Benarcs Sans. College Cat., p. 328, No. 2140 (incomplete).
- (8) Chakravarti, Vangiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat., pp. 72-73, Nos. 29-31 (of which the first is incomplete, and the last two consist of 25 chapters each).
 - (9) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 145.
- (10) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 189B, 282A, 544, 641, 920, 996, 1062D, 1399, 1464, 1670, 1724, 2102, 2107E and F, 2791, 3232, 4042, 4095, 4212, and 4242 (of which, Nos. 189B, 920, 1062D, 1399, 1724, 2107E and F, 4042 and 4242 are incomplete; No. 996 consists of 24 chapters, of which the last one is the same as chap. 25 of the printed edition; and the rest are complete in 25 chapters each).

Chap. 5 of the Mss mentioned above has been split up into chaps. 5-6 in the Venkat. and Vanga. editions.

It is to be noted that all the Mss of the Kriyayogasara, hitherto discovered, are written in Bengali script.

(11) A. Weber, Die Handscriften Verzeichnisse De Königlichen Bibliothek (Berlin, 1853), p. 131, No. 456

2 Kriyāyogasāra 26. 55—

idam atiśaya-guhyam niḥsṛtam vyāsa-vaktrād ruciram upapurāṇam prītidam vaiṣṇavānām/ etc. etc. etc. body of its text there is any reference to its connection with the Padma-p. In some of the chapter-colophons of two of its Mss³ it does not claim to belong to the Padma-p. The Nāradīya-p. (I. 93) also, though giving the names and contents of the different Khaṇḍas of the Padma-p., makes no mention of the Kriyāyogasāra. The independent character of this work is shown definitely by the Bṛhaddharma-p. (I. 25.24) which names this work in its list of eighteen Upapurāṇas.

The Kriyāyogasāra begins with three verses containing salutations to Hari, 'lord of Lakṣmī', who is said to have assumed various forms including that of Vyāsa, the author of the Purāṇas. It then states that once Sūta came with his pupils to Naimiṣāraṇya where the sages were holding a meeting for the good of the world. One of these sages, Saunaka by name, referred to the evils of the Kali age and requested Sūta to tell them how people could be highly devoted to Hari. Consequently, Sūta reported to the sages what Vyāsa had said to Jaimini on 'kriyāyoga-sāra' (i.e. 'the essence of yoga by work'), which was furnished with various stories as well as with discourses on Nārāyaṇa. Thus the topics of the Kriyāyogasāra have been introduced in chap. 1. The contents of the remaining chapters as are follows.

Chap. 2.—Description of the first creation of the universe.—

Mahāviṣṇu's appearance as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, who were created respectively from the right, left and middle parts of his body; and his Ādyā Prakṛti's assumption of the forms of Brāhmī, Lakṣmī and Ambikā in order to urge and help Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra respectively in their works. Brahmā's creation of the five elements as well as of the different lokas including the earth.

Geography of the earth (with its continents, oceans and mountains). Position of Bhāratavarṣa, which is said to be bounded on the north by

In our Venkat, and Vanga, editions as well as in some of the Mss of the Kriyā-yogasāra the reading 'ruciratara-purāṇam' is found in place of 'ruciram upapurāṇam' occurring in the great majority of the Mss mentioned above. Mitra's Ms reads 'sarasatara-purāṇam' (see Mitra, Notices, III, p. 114).

³ See Dacca Univ. Mss Nos, 282A and 1464.

the Himalayas and on the south by the Vindhya mountain. Praise of Bhāratavarṣa as the 'karma-dhūmi' (place of work) for the Vaiṣṇavas (called Bhāgavatas). Praise of Vaiṣṇavas.

Story of Viṣṇu's killing of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

Viṣṇu's enumeration of the characteristics of Vaiṣṇavas, who are to look upon Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra as equal, to wear garlands made of Tulasī wood and Dhātrī fruits, to mark their limbs with the figures of śaṅkha, cakra, gadā and padma, to bathe regularly in the waters of the Gaṅgā, to study the Bhāgavata (śāstraṃ bhāgavatam), to construct new Viṣṇu-temples or repair old ones, to plant Pippala (Aśvattha) trees, to serve cows and superiors, to have no regard for the Pāṣaṇḍas, to be devoted to Śiva, to worship Viṣṇu, and to do various other works.

Chap. 3.—Praise of 'kriyā-yoga' over 'dhyāna-yoga'. Kriyā-yoga consists of (i) worship of Gaṅgā, Śrī and Viṣṇu, (ii) donation, (iii) devotion to Brahmins, (iv) observance of the Ekādaśī-vrata, (v) regard for Dhātrī trees and Tulasī plants, and (vi) hospitality to guests.⁵

Jaimini's request to Vyāsa to describe the benefits of the pious acts constituting 'kriyā-yoga'. Vyāsa's consequent praise of the Gaṅgā (which is said to be specially sacred at Gaṅgā-dvāra, Prayāga and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama) by narrating the story of a vulture which described to king Manobhadra of the Lunar race its experience of the benefits of bathing and dying in the waters of the Gaṅgā and the outcome of ignoring one's parents.

Chaps. 4-9.—Praise of the Ganga continued.—Glorification of the waters of, and bath and death in, the Ganga especially at Prayaga and Ganga-sagara-sangama; and narration of various relevant stories includ-

4 Kriyayogasara 2. 24b-25a-

hemādri-dakṣiṇam yad vai vindhyādrer uttaram tathā/ āhus tad bhāratam varṣam śubhāśubha-phala-pradam//

5 Kriyāyogasāra 3. 4-5-

gangā śrīr viṣṇu-pūjā ca dānāni dvija-sattama/ brāhmaṇānām tathā bhaktir bhaktir ekādaśi-vrate// dhātrī-tulasyor bhaktiś ca tathā cātithi-pūjanam/ kriyā-yogānga-bhūtāni proktānīti samāsataḥ//

6 Such as those of (1) a sinful fowler named Dhanurdhvaja, who, being ena noured of Padmāvatī, wife of a merchant named Praņidhi, drowned himself

ing the highly interesting love-story of Mādhava and Sulocanā (both of royal descent), in which there are poetic touches at several places.

(For mention of the images of Viṣṇu and Kārttikeya at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, see verses 104-106 of chap. 4 and verses 161ff. of chap. 6).

Benefits accruing to those deceased persons whose bones are thrown into the Gangā.

Method and praise of Gangā-yātrā.

Chap. 10.—Praise of worshipping Viṣṇu (especially with Campaka flowers) and of doing various other pious acts during the month of Māgha.

Chaps. 11-14.—Daily duties which a Vaiṣṇava must do after leaving bed in the morning. Method and praise of worshipping Viṣṇu with the offer of different articles and of rendering various kinds of service to him during the months of Phālguna, Caitra etc. Praise of Viṣṇu-pādodaka. Glorification of Aśvattha trees by identifying them with Viṣṇu. Story of a Brahmin named Dhanañjaya who learnt from

at the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā according to the abvice of Padmāvatī's friends, became a second husband to Padmāvatī, passed to Viṣṇu's region, and attained a form similar to that of Viṣṇu himself (chap. 4); (2) a Rākṣasa named Bṛhaddhvaja, who, while abducting a married woman named Keśinī with an evil motive, died at Gangā-sāgara-sangama and was consequently taken by Viṣṇu-dūtas to Vaikunṭha (chap. 4); (3) a Brahmin named Dharmasva, who, by sprinkling a dying sinner with the waters of the Gangā and by placing a Tulasī leaf on his body, enabled him to escape the hands of Yamadūtas and attain the region of Viṣṇu (chap. 7); and so on.

7 See, for instance, the following verses:—
vanam parityajya kṛśānu-bhītyā
jalam praviṣṭā nalinī sukhārtham/
saṃdahyate tatra himānalena
yad yasya karma na tad anyathā syāt//
(Kriyāyogasāra 5. 155),

niśāvaśiṣṭā nalinī himākare dūrīkṛte caṇḍakareṇa bhāsvatā/ sugandha-puṣpa-prakarātisundarī nāpnoti kiṃ bhṛṅga-varasya saṃgamam// (Kriyāyogasāra 5. 194). Viṣṇu that by cutting the branch of an Aśvattha tree he hurt Viṣṇu himself.

Praise of painting the figures of śańkha, cakra etc. on the different parts of the body. Results of worshipping Viṣṇu with different kinds of flowers and leaves. Story of a pious Brahmin who learnt from Siva how, in his previous birth as a Savara, he acquired merit by supplying a lotus to a Brahmin for Viṣṇu-worship.

Chaps. 15-17.—Glorification of Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa). Results of uttering the name of Rāma and of muttering the six-syllabled mantra 'oṃ namo rāmāya'. Praise of Hari-bhakti. Glorification of the twelve-syllabled mantra 'oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'. Enumeration of the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa (17. 98-117). Narration of relevant stories, one of which (given in chap. 17) is clearly based on the story of the attachment of Bilvamangala (author of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta) towards a courtesan named Cintāmaṇi.

Chap. 18.—Praise of Purusottamaksetra.—Praise of the place; praise of food (anna) which is offered to Viṣṇu and is said to be acceptable to the members of the higher castes even if it is touched by a Cāṇḍāla; worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā; praise of bath in the Indradyumna-saras, Mārkaṇḍeya-hrada, Śvetagaṅgā etc. and of visiting Śvetamādhava, Hanūmat, the Akṣaya-vaṭa tree etc.; praise of receiving cane-strokes until blood comes out in profusion; performance of dola-yātrā, mahāsnāna, ratha-yātrā and Guṇḍicāmaṇḍapa-yātrā; and so on.

8 cāṇḍālenāpi saṃspṛṣṭaṃ grāhyaṃ tatrānnam agrajaiḥ/ sākṣād viṣṇur yatas tatra cāṇḍālo dvija-sattama//

Kriyāyogasāra 18.7.

9 tatra vetra-prahāreņa śarīram yasya lohitam/ tam vandante dvija-śreṣṭha devāḥ śakrādayo 'khilāḥ//

> kadā vetra-prahāreņa kṣetre śrīpuruṣottame/ bhaviṣyanty asmadīyāni lohitāni vapūṃṣi ca// vāsavādyāḥ surāḥ sarve tasmin kṣetre varaprade/ sadā vetra-prahārāṃś ca vānchanti dvija-sattama//

Kriyāyogasāra 18. 24-28.

Chap. 19.—Praise of revering Visnu and dedicating various kinds of food to him. Praise of Visnu-naivedya. Narration of the stories of Urvīśu (who, although a robber, dedicated to Viṣṇu a cart made of guda and was consequently favoured by the deity) and a Brahmin named Sarvajani (who, in his previous birth, got rid of his birdhood by taking Visnu-naivedya).

Qualifications of persons with whom Visnu is satisfied.

Chaps. 20-21.—Praise of giving food, water, land, cows, sesamum, gems, horses, elephants, Sālagrāma stone, tulā-purusa etc. Denouncement of a kanyā-vikrayin (verses 128-132). Qualifications of Brahmins who are worthy recipients of gifts. Narration of relevant stories.

Chaps. 22-23.—Praise of Ekādaśī-vrata; and the rules for its observance. Narration of relevant stories including that of Papapurusa (a being made of sins) who is to reside in food on the Ekadaśī Tithi.

Chaps. 24-25.—Praise of a Tulasi plant which is said to be capable of conferring on its devotees the four ends of life. Results of rendering various kinds of service to it.

Praise of Dhātrī trees, which are said to be as sacred as Tulasī plants. Praise of hospitality to guests.

Narration of relevant stories.

Chap. 26.—Conduct of people during the different yugas, especially the Kali-yuga.

The above contents of the Kriyayogasara show that this work is to be valued mainly from the religious point of view. It is a Bhagavata document on the praise of Visnu-worship. It conceives of Mahāviṣṇu as identical with Parātman and states that this Mahāviṣṇu appears as Brahmā, Vișnu and Rudra for the sake of creation, and his Adya Prakṛti, being the cause of the universe, assumes the forms of Brāhmī, Lakṣmī and Ambikā to urge and help Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra respectively in their works. It advocates bhakti, lays special stress on dasya-bhakti,10 and believes that by devoutly worshipping

10 Cf. tvad-dāsa-dāsa-dāsatvam dāsasya dehi me prabho/, (Kriyāyogasāra 11. 113b).

tvad-dāsa-dāsa-dāsanām dāsatvenāpi mām vṛṇu/, (Kriyāyogasāra 17. 250b). Viṣṇu one can attain sārūpya, sālokya and kaivalya. It is of opinion that a Cāṇḍāla, who is devoted to Viṣṇu, is really superior to a Brahmin who is not so. It rarely uses the name 'Kṛṣṇa,' but its mention of Balarāma instead of Kṛṣṇa in its lists of incarnations (including Buddha and Kalkin) shows that it looks upon Kṛṣṇa as identical with Mahāviṣṇu himself. It recommends the study of the Bhāgavata-p-, calls the Vaiṣṇavas 'Bhāgavata,' and preaches the equality of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva. The sectarian mantras mentioned in it are the following:- 'oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya,' 'oṇ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' and 'oṃ namo rāmāya.'

That the Kriyāyogasāra is a work of Bengal, 13 and most probably of its eastern part, can be shown by the following pieces of evidence.

(1) Mss of this work are found in Bengal in large numbers, but they are very rare in other provinces. (2) All of the numerous Mss of this work, hitherto discovered and preserved in different places in and outside India, are written in Bengali script. (3) That this work was very popular in Bengali is shown by the fact that it was translated into Bengali by different authors at different times. In the Dacca University collection there are several Mss of Bengali translations of this work by different writers, viz., Ananta Datta, Rāmeśvara Nandī, Prāṇa-nārā-yaṇa and Siva-nārāyaṇa. (4) It was the writers of Bengal who first recognised the Kriyāyogasāra as an authoritative work. The Bṛhaddharma-p., which is the first and most probably the only work to include the Kriyāyogasāra among the 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas, belongs

hari-bhaktah śvapāko'pi vijneyah śvapacādhikah/ hari-bhaktah śvapāko'pi vijneyo brāhmaṇādhikaḥ//j Kriyāyogasāra 16. 3.

12 Cf. brahma-viṣṇu-maheśānām madhye ye bhedakāriṇaḥ/,

teṣāṃ ruṣṭo'smy ahaṃ sadā//, Kriyāyogasāra 19. 103b-104a.

- 13 In his Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological (p. 82) Wilson says that the Kriyāyogasāra 'is most probably the work of a Brahman of Orissa, or Bengal' and that it 'does not appear to be known in the South of India'.
- 14 See Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 4158, 662 and K507 (author—Ananta Datta), No. 1341 (author—Rāmeśvara Nandi), No. K23 (author—Prāṇanārāyaṇa), and No. K206 (author—Siva-nārāyaṇa).

decidedly to Bengal. (5) Although the Kriyayogasara says that the Gangā is specially sacred at three places, viz., Gangādvāra, Prayāga and Gangā-sāgara-sangama, it gives more attention to the praise of the last one. (6) The fruits and flowers, mentioned in the Kriyayogasara, are very common in Bengal. (7) The description of Madhava's marriage with Sulocana, as given in chap. 5 of the Kriyayogasara, includes certain rites which are peculiar to Bengal. These rites are (a) the performance of adhivasa of the bride on the day immediately preceding that of marriage, and the tying of Dūrvā grass to her hand with a few folds of thread on this occasion,15 (b) the sounding of conch-shells before marriage, 16 and (c) the taking of the bride, seated on a flat seat (pītha—popularly called पीडि in Bengal) of 'Gambhari wood,' by her paternal blood-relations to the bridegroom in the marriage-pandal at the time of marriage.17 It is to be noted that Gambhari wood is very commonly used for making seats, boats etc. in Eastern Bengal and Assam (especially in the districts of Mymensingh, Sylhet, Tipperah etc.). In the vernacular works of mediaeval Bengal, there are numerous references to the use of 'Gamari' or 'Gambhari' wood for the construction of various things such as boats and flat seats (popularly called पीडि and meant for use especially in marriage), and so on. 18 (8) Some words have been used in the same peculiar meanings as they are found to carry in present-day Bengal.—(a) The word 'prastava' has been used in the sense of 'story,' 'account' etc. in Kriyayogasara 6. 125 (sulocanāyāh prastāvam kathayāmāsa bhūtale). It should be mentioned here that this word is found to be used in the above-mentioned

It is needless to say that both these works are written in Bengali.

¹⁵ Kriyāyogasāra 5. 97; 5. 112 (adyādhivāsanam karma śvo vivāho mama dhruvam); 5.198 (adhivāsana-sūtrāņi sadūrvāņi bhuje mama); and 6. 129 (athādhivāsanam karma śvo vivāho mama dhruvam).

¹⁶ Ibid., 5. 149.

¹⁷ Ibid., 5. 152—
gambhārī-kāṣṭha-racitam pīṭham āruhya sundarī/,
jñātibhir veṣṭitā yātā vara-sthānam suloc anā//,

¹⁸ See, for instance, Bhavananda's Harivamsa, p. 50 (lines 2058-59— भाङ्गा नात्र्यो नहे मोर गामारीर सार। आञ्चक मानुष हस्ती घोडा करि पार॥) and Mukundarama's Kavi-kankana-candi, p. 395 (गाम्भारि-पीठे)

sense in Eastern Bengal only. (b) The word 'nikața' has been used in the sense of 'to' or 'near' in Kriyayogasara 5. 121 (gatva tannikate) and 160 (asau duḥkhāgatā kanyā varasya nikate 'dhunā). (c) The word 'sādhu' has been used in the sense of 'merchant' in Kriyāyogasāra 4.50 (tām sādhu-patnīm ādāya yayuh...). This word has been used in the above-mentioned sense in the Hitopadesa, which is, in all probability, a work of Bengal. (d) The word 'kallola' has been used in the sense of 'rinsing' in Kriyāyoga sāra 10.21 (kuryād dvādaśa viprendra kallolāni jalair budhaḥ) and 22. 90 (kallolair mukha-śuddhim tu kuryād dvādaśabhir budhaḥ). This word seems to be the Sanskritised form of the word 'कुल्कुलि' as used in Eastern Bengal to mean 'rinsing.' It has also some resemblance with the word 'कुलि' (meaning 'rinsing') used in western and other parts of Bengal. (e) The root 'nī' has been used in the sense of 'grah' (to take) in Kriyayogasara 6. 148 (vipattyām yena hastena nayet pāda-rajah khalu/śirah kṛntati tenaiva svāminah prāpya sampadam / /). (9) Some expressions have been formed in imitation of those in Bengali. As an instance we may cite Kriyayogasara 6. 100-101—kanyaya düşanam nasti nasti vidyadharasya vā/ mamaiva dūṣaṇaṃ sarvaṃ yato hīnasya saṅgabhāk / / (Cf. Bengali— कन्यार दोष नाइ, श्रामारइ सन दोप). (10) The method of carrying water in pitchers, as referred to in the verse ityālocya varārohā savyakacche ghațam tatah/, krtva palayane bhitya manas cakre sarovarat// (5.28), is very common with the women of Bengal.

The Kriyāyogasāra is not a very early work. It is quite familiar with the names of the zodiacal signs, 19 praises the Tulasī plant on many occasions, mentions the Buddha incarnation in two places, 20 and recommends the study of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata (bhārataṃ vyāsa-bhāṣitam) and the Bhāgavata-p.21 In chap. 17 it contains a story which is clearly an imitation of that of Bilvamaṅgala. Hence the Kriyāyogasāra cannot be dated earlier than 700 A.D. Again, a

¹⁹ Kriyāyogasāra 4. 6, 10, 15 etc.; 13. 75.

²⁰ Ibid., 6, 188; and 11. 94.

²¹ Ibid., 2, 94 (śālagrāma-śilā yeṣām gṛhe vasati sarvadā/ śāstram bhāgavatam caiva jñeyās te vaiṣṇavā janāḥ//); and 22, 137 (rāmāyaṇam bhāgavatam bhāratam vyāsa-bhāṣitam/ anyāni ca purāṇāni pāṭhyāni harivāsare//).

Ms of this work is dated 1556 Saka²²; and the Bṛhaddharma-p., which was written in Bengal either in the latter half of the thirteenth or in the former half of the fourteenth century A.D.,²³ mentions the Kriyāyogasāra in its list of Upapurāṇas and thus recognises this work as highly authoritative. Hence the Kriyāyogasāra must have been written at least two centuries earlier, i.e. not later than the eleventh century A.D. The facts that the Kriyāyogasāra has very little Tantric influence and that, unlike the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p., it pays no attention to Tantric Sāktism, show that it is to be dated earlier than the Mahābhāgavata²⁴ also. It is highly probable that this work was written towards the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

The mention of 'Yavana' in the line 'ahanan nisitaih khadgair nisayam yavanopamah' (7.62) need not be taken to assign the Kriyayogasara to a date posterior to that of Muhammadan conquest of Bengal. As there is no second mention of Yavanas in this work, it seems that the Muhammadans were still outside Bengal and that the author of the Kriyayogasara had no direct knowledge of the evils of Muhammadan rule.

A study of the Kriyāyogasāra shows that at the time of composition of this work there was a great spread of the 'Pāṣaṇḍas' who disregarded Viṣṇu^{2,5} and encouraged people to neglect the Vedas and the Purāṇas,²⁶ to dispossess Brahmins of their landed property,²⁷ to

22 See Dacca Univ. Ms No. 1670.

23 The questions of date and provenance of the Brhaddharma-p. will be discussed fully in another Volume of the present work.

The Mahābhāgavata was written about the tenth or eleventh century

A. D. For the date of this work see Vol. II of the present work.

25 Cf. pākhaṇḍānāṃ samīpe....../....na kuryād dvija pūjanam//— Kriyāyogasāra 14. 3.

vāsudevasya māhātmyam śrutvā....../ pākhaṇḍā na hi tṛpyanti.....//, pākhaṇḍānām samīpe tu viṣṇu māhātmyam..../ na vaktavyam.....//— Kriyāyogasāra 19. 3-4.

26 Cf. na vedādhyayanam cakre purāṇāni ca sarvaśaḥ/ tatyājottama-saṃjñām ca pākhaṇḍa-jana-saṅgamāt// Kriyāyogasāta 17.11.

27 Cf. pākhaṇḍa-jana-vākyena mayā bhūmir dvijanmanaḥ/ laṅghitā
...//—Kriyāyogasāra 6. 22.
pākhaṇḍair bodhito 'yaṃ tu jahāra dvija-śāsanam.—Kriyāyogasāra 6.27.

punish honest men,28 and to do various other acts of violence. It should be mentioned here that by the term 'Pāṣaṇḍa' the Kriyāyogasāra means those people, especially the red-robed Buddhists, who were regardless of the Vedic injunctions and followed the non-Vedic rites and customs.20 As the spread of these Pasandas was unfavourable to the Varṇāśramadharma and Viṣṇu-worship, the Kriyāyogasāra advised people not even to speak with these Pasandas 30. It decried those who took beef,31 and preached the Vedic rites as lawful (dharmya).22 It prescribed the use of only the Vedic and the Puranic mantras,33 encouraged the study of the Vedas and the Puranas, praised the performance of the 'five great sacrifices' (pañca-mahāyajña),34 and added great importance to the observance of the Vedic rules of castes and orders of life. It should be noted that in trying to popularise his religious faith as well as to establish the Vedic rules of life and conduct, the author of the Kriyayogasara, like those of the Mahābhāgavata and the Brhaddharma-p., utilised the river Gangā, which he regarded as much sacred as Visnu.35 Although this river played a very prominent part in the religious and cultural life of the Hindus, no importance was attached to it by the followers of the heresies. Aryadeva's Cittaviśuddhi-prakarana clearly shows how much the Buddhists denounced the Brahmanical practice of bathing in the

28 Cf. pākhaņdi-mantriņām vākyair vinā dosair api dvija/ dandyante sādhavo janāh//-Kriyāyogasāra 10. 40.

- 29 Kriyāyogasāra 17. 77 (ye veda-saṃmataṃ kāryaṃ tyaktvānyat karma kurvate/ nijācāra-vihînā ye pākhaņdās te prakirtitāḥ//); and 26. 20b-21a (pāṣaṇḍa-saṅgha-baddhāś ca bhaviṣyanti kalau yuge/, raktāmbarā bhaviṣyanti brāhmaṇāḥ śūdra-dharmiṇaḥ//).
- 30 Kriyāyogasāra 9. 16 (pākhanda-sangam eva.....varjayet); 17. 67 (tyaja pāṣaṇḍa-saṃsargaṃ); and 22.129 (na pākhaṇḍajanālāpaḥ kartavyaḥ/ pākhaņdālāpa-mātreņa sarva-dharmo vinasyati //).
 - 31 Kriyāyogasāra 4. 83; and 7. 60.
- 32 Kriyāyogasāra 7. 78 (kāryam veda-niṣiddham yat tat pātakam iti smṛtam/ yad veda-saṃmatam kāryam tad eva dharmyam ucyate//).
 - 33 Kriyāyogasāra 11. 79ff.
 - 34 Ibid., 22. 136; 17. 70ff.
 - Ibid., 7. 79—yathā visņus tathā gangā gangaiva sarvapāpahā.

Gangā to remove sin and acquire merit. 36 So, the authors of the Purānas spared no pains to establish the sanctity and divinity of this river and to connect it with the Vedic ideas on the one hand and their respective deities on the other.

2. THE ADI-PURANA

An Ādya- or Ādi-purāṇa is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas and has been drawn upon extensively by almost all the Nibandha-writers. We have also got an Ādi-purāṇa preserved in Mss³¹ and published by the Venkateśvara Press, Bombay, and by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā (with a Bengali translation), Calcutta. We shall see below that these two Ādi-purāṇas are quite distinct in character and belong to different dates.

36 In the Cittaviśuddhi-prakarana Āryadeva says: "If salvation could be attained by means of Ganges water, then fishermen would all attain salvation, and more particularly the fishes, which are in the Ganges day and night." (Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 351).

37 For Mss of the Adi-p. see

(1) Mitra, Notices, II, pp. 18-20, No. 553.

[This is an undated Ms written in Bengali characters and consisting of 25 chapters. It begins with verse I (jayati yaśodā-sūnuḥ etc.) of chap. 5 of the printed eds. and ends with the concluding verse (idam mayā te kathitam mahādbhutam etc.) of the latter. Its contents, as given by Mitra, agree generally with those of chaps, 5-29 of the printed eds.]

(2) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1184-85.

[No. 3335.—Ihis is a complete Ms written in Devanāgarī script and copied in 1799 A.D. It consists of 52 chapters, but its 52nd chapter, which deals with Kaṃsa-vadha, is called the 51st in the final colophon (iti śrī-ādi-purāṇe nārada-śaunakādi-saṃvāde kaṃsa-vadho nāmaikapañcāśattamo'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ). It begins, like Mitra's Ms, with verse 1 of chap. 5 of the printed eds. but contains a second introductory verse (na khalu bala-vilāsa° etc.) which is not found in the printed eds. Its first 25 chapters have general agreement, as regards contents, with Mitra's Ms and with chaps. 5-29 of the printed eds. Of the remaining chapters, chap. 32 deals with Dhenuka-pūrva-janma-kathana, chap. 39 with Rāsa-krīdā-vilāsa, chaps. 42-44 with the description of different kinds of nāyakas and nāyikās, chap. 45 with nāma-māhātmya, and the rest with the different deeds and exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

No. 3336.—This Ms also is written in Devanagari script. It was copied in

- (I). The Ādi-p., published by the Venkațeśvara Press, Bombay, and by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā, Calcutta, consists of 29 chapters, of which the
- 1804 A.D. According to Eggeling, it is 'evidently a reproduction of the preceding Ms with all its mistakes and an additional supply of its own'.]
 - (3) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 708-9.

[No. 4072.—This is a complete Ms written in Nāgara script and dated Samvat 1869. For a 'full description' of this Ms, Shastri refers to the Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3335.

No. 4073.—This Ms also is complete. It is written in Nāgara script and dated Saṃvat 1708. It consists of 51 chapters, of which the last one deals with Kaṃsa vadha. Its last colophon ends with the words 'samāptaś cāyaṃ pūrva-khaṇḍaḥ'.]

- (4) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 159.
- (5) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 185.
- (6) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 199.
- (7) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 329 and 337.
- (8) Bhandarkar, Report, p. 10.
- (9) Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 48, No. 1026.

For short Mss of Stava, Māhātmya etc., claiming to be parts of the Adi-p., see

(1) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 709-710.

[No. 4074 (Ms No. 3355).—This is a complete Ms dealing with Visnunāma-māhātmya. It consists of 7 folios and is written in Bengali characters of 'the early nineteenth century'. It is quite different from chap. 45 (on nāma-māhātmya) of Ind. Cff. Cat., VI, No. 3335 and ASB Cat., V, No 4072. Its colophon runs as follows: ity, tidi-purāņe śrikṛṣṇāi juna-saṃvāde śrīviṣṇor nāma-māhātmyaṃ samāptam.

No. 4075 (Ms No. 4022).—This is another Ms of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhā-tmya claiming to belong to the Ādi-p., although in its celophon the title of the work is given as 'Vaiṣṇavāmṛta'. This Ms also is written in Bengali characters 'of the nineteenth century', begins with the same verse as that of the immediately preceding Ms (of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya), contains an interlocution between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, deals with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya, and has the same text as that of the immediately preceding Ms.]

- (2) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, Part i, p. 905 (Citrakūţa-māhātmya) and pp. 905-6 (Vitastā-stava).
 - (3) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 199.
- (4) Winternitz, Cat. of South Indian Sans, Mss, pp. 267-9, No. 198 (Madhyama-bhāga of the Hemakūṭa-khaṇḍa of the Bharadvāja-saṃhitā of the

first four are found neither in the Ms of the Adi-p. noticed by R. L. Mitra nor in those described by H. P. Shastri and Eggeling. It ends with the chapter on yamalarjuna-bhanga (breaking of the pair of Arjuna trees), an exploit of the infant Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndavana. A comparison of this printed Adi-p. with Shastri and Eggeling's Mss shows that the former does not represent the entire Adi-p. but contains only a part of it. This fragmentary character of the printed edition is also shown by its chap. 6 which mentions the different incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's life from his birth to his exploits at Mathura and Dvāravatī. It is highly probable that Shastri and Eggeling's Mss also do not comprise the whole work known under the title 'Adi-p.', because these Mss end with Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Mathurā and record none of the incidents at Dvāravatī, and in the second of the two complete Mss of the Adi-p. described by H. P. Shastri, the final colophon ends with the words 'samāpta's cāyam pūrva-khandah'. Of the Uttara-khanda of the Adi-p. we know nothing at present. It seems to have dealt with Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Dvāravatī.

The printed Adi-p., which calls itself the essence of all the Puranas,38 begins with the verse 'rajojuse janmani sattva-vrttaye', the first two quarters of which are the same as those of the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī. This introductory verse as well as a few others which follow it contains salutations to Visnu and Vyāsa, of whom the former is described as 'cinmātra-rūpa' and 'paramātma-rūpin' and is called Brahma, when consisting of pure consciousness, and Mayesvara, when taking the human form, 39 while the latter, who is a form of Visnu, is said to have divided the original Veda and given it to his disciples, to have composed a Purāṇa-saṃhitā after collecting the anecdotes (itihasa) from the Veda, and to have written the Brahma-sūtra in order to elucidate the meaning of this Purāṇa-saṃhitā, the Bhāgavata-p. as a commentary on the Brahma-

It should be mentioned here that our reference in the following pages are generally to the Venkat. ed., unless otherwise mentioned.

³⁸ See the chapter-colophons (of the Venkat ed.), in most of which this Purāņa is called 'sakala-purāņa-sāra-bhūta'.

³⁹ Ādi-p. 1. 2a—brahmeti yasya nigamair vivṛtaś cidaṃśo māyeśvaraḥ puruṣa-rūpa-dharo yadaṃśaḥ/.....

sūtra, and the present Adi-p. to embody the essence of all these works. 40 Next, after praising the Naimisa forest as the Visnu-vana (forest of Visnu) and the best of all holy places, this Purana states that once Sūta came to the hermitage of Saunaka in this forest during a twelve-year sacrifice instituted by the latter and was duly received by the sages. (-Chap. 1). When Sūta took his seat, Saunaka praised his presence as productive of immense good, asked him to take rest, and retired to the fire-sanctuary (agni-grha) to perform his own evening duties. (-Chap. 2). When, after taking rest, Sūta returned to Saunaka in company with the sages, the latter described the evils of the Kali age41 and requested the former to tell them how people could get rid of these evils and to describe, in connection with Kṛṣṇa 'the lord of cowherdesses', the essence of the Puranas, Itihasa, Dharmaśāstras and the work of Bādarāyaṇa (i.e. the Brahmasūtra). (-Chap. 3). The other sages also requested Sūta to speak on the way of attaining devotion to Hari. Consequently, Sūta saluted Kṛṣṇa (whom he described as 'cidanandamaya' and 'trimūrtika') and Vyāsa, and consented to reproduce the Adi-purana which he had heard from his teacher Vyāsa and which was the essence of all Sāstras. (-Chap. 4).

In chap. 5 we are told that Vyāsa heard from Nārada this Ādi-p. which was proclaimed originally by Sanatkumāra. It is said that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Vyāsa's hermitage on the bank of the Sarasvatī and was warmly received there by Vyāsa's pupils, and that being requested by these pupils to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇu-māyā which steeps the whole creation in nescience, Nārada spoke about Kṛṣṇa, who is one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and of whom he had heard from Kumāra. 43

⁴⁰ Adi-p. 1. 8-13.

⁴¹ Speaking of the bad effects of the Kali age the Ādi-p. says that people will become non-believers and look upon the Śālagrāma as a piece of stone meant for measurement of weight, and that one's wife's brothers will be one's best advisers (Ādi-p. 3. 7 and 19).

sanatkumāroktam idam purāņam yato na kimcit param asti pūrvam/, mayā śrutam nāradato badaryām śraddhālunā cādipurāņa-samjñam///

⁴³ Adi-p. 5. 3-13.

Thus the topics of the present Ādi-p. have been introduced in the printed edition. The Mss of the Ādi-p., on the other hand, make no mention of Sūta or Vyāsa but simply say that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Naimiṣāraṇya in order to see Saunaka and others and had a warm reception from the sages living there. It was at their request to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇumāyā that Nārada narrated the contents of the present Ādi-p.

That the present beginning of the printed edition is due to a change made at a later date by the addition of its first four chapters, is shown not only by Shastri and Eggeling's Mss of the Ādi-p. but also by the mention of Nārada and Saunaka as interlocutors in the colophons of all the chapters from chap. 5 of the printed edition. It is to be noted that in chap. 5 of the printed edition Nārada speaks to Vyāsa and his pupils, and not Saunaka.

Though the beginning of the printed Adi-p. is different from those of the Mss, it deals, like chaps. 1-25 of the latter, mainly with the story of Kṛṣṇa—the legendary account of the birth of Kṛṣṇa as well as of Baladeva, Vasudeva's eulogy of Kṛṣṇa and his removing of the newborn child to Nanda's house, the merry-makings in Nanda's house on the occasion of Krsna's birth, the ceremony of naming Krsna and Baladeva as performed by Garga, and the incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's infancy, viz., his killing of the demoness Putanā and of the demon Tṛṇāvarta, his breaking of a cart, his childish sports with his foster-mother Yasodā as well as with other cowherdesses (such as those of his stealing milk, curd and butter and sharing these with his associates, his breaking of utensils, his escape on more occasions than one from the midst of cowherdesses who tried to capture him, his passing the night with all the gopikas separately in their respective houses, and so on), his defeat in a wrestling competition with Baladeva, and his breaking of a pair of Arjuna trees when he was tied by Yaśoda to a mortar.

In connection with this story, the following topics have been dealt with in the printed editions:—The benefits of worshipping Kṛṣṇa by forsaking all contact with women; characteristics of the devotees of Hari; description and praise of Mathurā-maṇḍala, in which Vṛndāvana is situated; praise of Vṛndāvana, which is called the most favourite

place and the eternal abode of Kṛṣṇa and in which Kṛṣṇa's sports and exploits are always to be experienced through love and devotion; characteristics of a love-messenger (dūtī); description of the Kali age; a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa; and Yaśodā's seeing the universe in Krsna's mouth.

In order to glorify Kṛṣṇa, a few subsidiary stories have been introduced; viz., Nārada's meeting with Viṣṇu in Sveta-dvīpa and the latter's narration of the story of ten sages who meditated on Krsna (the delighter of gopikās—gopikā-ramaņa) of Vṛndāvana in order to experience his sports; Nārada's bath in the Mānasa lake, his consequent attainment of an extremely beautiful female form, and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's allaying the jealous anger of Rādhā as well as of his Rāsa-līlā and other sports at Vṛndāvana with the gopīs, especially with Rādhā, the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu; Nārada's attainment of a male body by bathing in the Kṛṣṇa-gaṅgā and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's Vraja-līlā, which is 'nitya' (permanent) and in which Kṛṣṇa tends cattle with his friends and associates and is received in the evening by his foster-mother and other cowherdesses; Viṣṇu's narration to Brahmā of the story of his taking the form of a bee and describing the love-sport (prema-līlā) of the love-smitten (śṛṇgāra-rasa-vihvala-mānasa) Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana with innumerable gopīs who are called the images of his own image (viz., Rādhā)44, with the mention of the lineage of Nanda and Rādhā45 as well as the names of the eight principal female friends of Rādhā, the principal gopīs46 who attend upon Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa's associates (including Rādhā's four brothers named Vṛṣavṛdhnu, Manaḥsaukhya, Stokakṛṣṇa and Sudāman) who play and tend cattle with him and never grow old or die; rebirth of Carumati, daughter of the sage

⁴⁴ Ādi-p. 10. 35-36 (... svabimbapratibimbena kridate vipine 'niśam).

⁴⁵ Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa, is said to be the youngest son of Citrasena, who, again, was the youngest son of Kalamedu, the great-grandson of Ābhīrabhānu, the lord of gopas, of Mahāvana. Rādhikā was born of Mānavī by Vṛṣabhānu, the great-grandson of Asiṣeṇa (Arṣṭiṣeṇa?), the Mahagopa, of the village Ārstigrāma. (See Adi-p., chap. 12).

⁴⁶ The long list of the names of these principal gopis includes the following: - Mālatī, Madālasā, Citrā, Vetravatī, Kalāvatī, Sunandā, Viśākhā, Sārikā, Mādhavī, Candrāvalī, Bhadrāvalī, Campāvatī, Tilottamā, Alayā and Tārāvalī.

Kālabhīru, as the demoness Putanā due to the curse of her husband Kaksīvat, who was offended with Cārumatī on account of her illicit connection with a Sūdra; rebirth, in the form of the demon Tṛṇāvarta, of the Bhāgavata king Viśvaratha of Drāviḍa who gave trouble, under suspicion of thieving, to a Brahmin Vaisnava who was returning at night after attending a 'kīrtana;' and so on.

In Shastri and Eggeling's Mss of the Adi-p., the story of Kṛṣṇa further continues up to the killing of Kamsa at Mathura and includes the following incidents: - Kṛṣṇa's killing of Vatsāsura, Bakāsura, Aghāsura, Dhenuka, Pralamba and others, and his chastisement of the serpent Kālīya; Brahmā's experience of Viṣṇu-māyā; Kṛṣṇa's uplifting of the mountain Govardhana, and his Rāsa-krīdā; and so on. In these Mss there are also chapters on the praise of gopis, the different kinds of nāyakas and nāyikās (including a section on 'svakīya-bheda-varṇana'), the glory of the name of Kṛṣṇa (nāma-māhātmya), the description of the seasons Vasanta, Grīsma, Sarat and Hemanta, and so on. There are also a few subsidiary stories such as that of the previous birth of the demon Dhenuka.

From the contents of the present Adi-p. indicated above, it is clear that this Purana is solely dedicated to the promulgation of faith in Kṛṣṇa, who, unlike the other gods, is kind to both friends and foes. In this work Kṛṣṇa is regarded not only as an incarnation of Visnu but as the Bhagavat himself47 and the eternal Brahma. He is the individual and the Supreme Soul,48 and is both one and many. Though, in his supreme state, he is formless and has no beginning or end, he manifests himself in different forms through guna. Being 'rasākṛṣṭa,' he sports permanently, at Vṛndāvana with gopīs, especially with Rādhā who is called his Parā Vidyā, Parā Sakti, and Hlādinī Sakti49 and who does not seem to be his wedded wife, but no male can experience these sports unless he turns a female.50 Kṛṣṇa's Vraja-līlā, on the other hand, is said to be

⁴⁷ Adi-p. 12. 13-163; and also 6.7, 9.58, and so on.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 17. 74.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 13. 57-58.

Cf. Ibid., 13. 52-53—
nāvalokayitum šaktah pumstvena purusarsabha/
atas tavādhikāto'sti strīrūpasya varānane// 50

open to his male devotees. People are advised to devote themselves solely to the worship of Kṛṣṇa⁵¹ and to look upon women as obstacles in the way of their spiritual development. They are to practise love and devotion in such a way that they should always be ready to do good to others and should not be affected in the least or try for a remedy, even if they are insulted, oppressed, beaten, or killed by others.⁵² According to this Purāṇa, 'bhajana' (i.e. kīrtana), based on prema and bhakti, is the best way of Kṛṣṇa-worship and is superior to yoga, dāna etc.; and all the members of the four castes without distinction of age or sex, as well as Antyajas, Pulkasas and Mlecchas are entitled to worship Kṛṣṇa.⁵³

The present Ādi-p., as its contents show, can never claim an early origin. None of the numerous verses, ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Hemādri, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Sūlapāṇi, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Sīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Narasiṃha Vājayeyin, Anantabhaṭṭa, Gadādhara and many other Nibandha-writers in their respective works, is found in the printed Ādi-p. In the Haribhaktivilāsa (of Gopālabhaṭṭa),⁵⁴ Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛṭa (of Sanātana Gosvāmin)⁵⁵

51 Ādi. 26. 38ff.

52 Ādi-p. 8. 16-18—

kṣiptāvamānitā dhvastās tāḍitāḥ pīḍitā api/
na vikriyā prabhavati pratikāram na kurvate//
hitam kurvanti sarveṣām karuṇā dīna-vatsalāḥ/
titikṣavo'lpavāco hi mahānto loka-pāvanāḥ/
te priyāḥ śrīharer bhaktāḥ prema-mādhvīka-makṣikāḥ//

53 Ādi-p. 28. 52-

sarve'dhikāriņo varņā āśramāḥ śiśavaḥ striyaḥ / antyajāḥ pulkasā mlecchā ye cānye pāpa-yonayaḥ / /

on p. 524 of his Haribhaktivilāsa Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes from an Ādi-p. nine verses on the praise of devotees of Kṛṣṇa, and on pp. 612, 634, 678 and 683 he quotes from the same source thirteen more verses on Kṛṣṇa-nāma māhātmya. In quoting some of these verses he uses the words 'ādi-purāṇe śrikṛṣṇ-arijuna-saṃvāde'. But none of these verses occurs in the chapter (viz., chap. 45) on 'nāma-māhātmya' contained in the Mss of the Ādi-p. described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1184-85, Nos. 3335-36, and by H. P. Shastri in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 708-9, Nos. 4072-73.

55 The Laghu-bhagavatamṛta quotes from the 'Adi-p'. nine verses in which

and a few other works of the later Vaisnava writers of Bengal a number of verses has been quoted from an 'Adi-p.', and in these quoted verses Kṛṣṇa speaks to Arjuna on the praise of the name and devotees of Visnu (Kṛṣṇa). Although some of these verses have been ascribed by Gopālabhatta definitely to a 'Srīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṃvāda in the Ādi-purāṇa' (ādi-purāne śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṃvāde) and a number of them occurs in the manuscripts of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya56 consisting of a 'Srīkṛṣṇārjuna-samvāda' and claiming to belong to the Adi-p., we are not sure that the Adi-p., of which this Visnu-nāma-māhātmya claims to be a part, is the same as that found in the printed editions and the Mss mentioned above. On the other hand, Mitra Miśra, though not quoting any verses from the present Adi-p., must have been quite familiar with this work; because, after giving two lists of Upapuranas from the 'Kūrma-p.' and the 'Brahmavaivarta-p.', Mitra Miśra quotes Matsya-p. 53. 59b-63 in support of the view that the Upapuranas originated from the major 'Puranas', and then exemplifies this view by naming the Nandikeśvara-p., Adi-p. and Devi-p., which, he says, were recognised as Upapurānas by great men (mahājana-parigrhītāni) and of which the first and the third are not mentioned in any of the two lists of Upapurānas given by Mitra Miśra. Hence it is

Kṛṣṇa speaks to Arjuna on the praise of the votaries of Kṛṣṇa, of the devoted gopikās, and of Vrndāvana, and one of which is the same as a verse quoted from the Adi-p. in Haribhaktivilasa, p. 524.

The Laghu-bhāgavatāmrta, which consists of two Khandas-Pūrva and Uttara named as Kṛṣṇāmṛta and Bhaktāmṛta respectively, must be the same as the 'Bhagavatamṛta' which Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja ascribes to Sanātana and from which he learnt 'bhakti-tattva' and 'kṛṣṇa-tattva'. See Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Caitanya-caritamrta, III, p. 111—sanātana kaila grantha bhāgavatāmṛte/ bhaktitattva kṛṣṇa-tattva jāni yāhā haite//). But in the introduction to their edition of the Laghu-bhagavatamrta Balai Chand Goswami and Atul Krishna Goswami say that this work was written by Rūpa Gosvāmin.

56 For the verses ascribed to the 'Adi-p,' in Haribhaktivilasa, p. 524, p. 612, p. 634, p. 678, and p. 683 see Visnu-nāma-māhātmya (ASB Ms No. 3355), fols. 2a (lines 2, 4, 8-9), 2b, etc., fol. 5a (lines 3-4), fol. 4a (lines 1-3), fols. 6a (line 9), 6b (lines 3, 6), fols. 2b (line 4), 4a (lines 2, 1, 7-9), 6a (lines 7-8) and 5a (line 8).

The verses ascribed to the 'Adi-p.' in Laghu-bhagavatamrta, pp. 177, 182-3 and 184 do not occur in the Visnu-nāma-māhātmya.

sure that the 'Ādi-p.' also (which Mitra Miśra recognised as an Upapurāṇa, because it was recognised as such by great men) must be different from the first Upapurāṇa which is mentioned in the lists with the words 'ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktam,' and 'ādyaṃ sanatkumāraṃ ca' respectively. A comparison between the printed Ādi-p. and the present Brahmavaivarta-p. shows that the story of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the latter work, is decidedly of a later date. On the other hand, the present Ādi-p. holds the Tulasī plant in high esteem and seems to have known the tyranny of the Muhammadans in India.⁵⁷ Hence this Purāṇa should be dated between 1203 and 1525 A.D.

Though a late work, the printed Ādi-p. does not attach itself as a part to any Mahāpurāṇa, but claims to be the same as the earlier Ādi-p. which was spoken out by Sanatkumāra. It is needless to say that this claim is wholly untenable. Even the verse, in which this claim has been put forth by the printed editions, occurs in Shastri and Eggeling's Mss in a quite different form without any mention of Sanatkumāra or of the earlier Ādi-p.

In the present Ādi-p. there is mention of the use of bracelets of conch-shell by women, ⁵⁹ of a proverb in the line 'ādau ca sakhi hṛtvā gāṃ vinayo na virājate', ⁶⁰ of the word 'gālī' used in the sense of 'reproach' on several occasions, ⁶¹ of marking a child on the forehead with collyrium for saving it from the harmful effect of others' sight, and of tying a tiger-nail and a hymn of Rāma to a child's neck for saving it from the influence of evil spirits. ⁶² These, as well as the fact that

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57 Adi-p. 14. 139-140-
      asurā yavanāmśeșu jātā lokopatāpinah/
      anīti-niratāḥ sarve saṃgrahe ca prabuddhayaḥ//
      palāyamānās teṣām hi prajāh syur api piditāh/
      prāpur deśāntaram cāpi kvacin na sukhitābhavan//
58 Viz., idam purāņam paramādibhūtam yato na kimcit param asti pūrvam/
      śrināradenābhihitam tu naimișe śraddhālave bhārgava-śaunakāya//
                                        (see Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1184).
   Ādi-p. 26. 3 and 5.
59
   Ādi-p. 14. 14.
60
   Ādi-p. 16. 17; 25. 33 and 57.
   Cf. Adi-p. 18. 130-
      dṛṣṭi-doṣa-nivārāya bhāle kajjalakam kuru/
      kanthe vyāghra-nakham caiva rāma-nāmānkitam stavam / /
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some of the ideas and practices of Caitanya of Navadvīpa and tenets of Caitanyaism are found mentioned in the present Adi-p., tend to create the impression that this Purana, like the chapters on Mathuramāhātmya of the Varāha-p., was written in Bengal by a disciple of Caitanya; but we have already seen that the Haribhaktivilāsa and the Laghu-bhagavatamrta quote verses from a part claiming to belong to an 'Adi-p.' which cannot be said definitely to be different from the present Adi.

(II). Quite different from our present Adi-p. was the earlier Adya- or Adi-p. which is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen Upapurānas64 and in which Sanatkumāra was the speaker. It seems that Sanatkumāra reported to a king, most probably to Yudhisthira,65 what he had heard from Vyasa. 66 That the earlier Adya-p. and Adi-p. were identical, is shown by the following facts: (1) the Brhaddharma-p. (1. 25. 23) names the first Upapurāņa as 'Ādi-p.'; 67 (2) while enumerating the works used in writing his Danasagara and Adbhutasagara Vallālasena names an 'Ādya Purāņa', 68 but when this Purāņa is referred to or drawn upon by him, it is mentioned as 'Adi-p.'; (3) in a particular work the same verses are sometimes found ascribed to the 'Adi-p.' in some Mss and to the 'Adya-p.' in others; 69 (4) in some of the long citations from the 'Adi-p.' in the Caturvarga-cintamani, Sanatkumara appears as the speaker; 70 and (5) in their commentaries on Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva Kāśīrāma Vācaspati and Rādhāramaņa

See Adi-p. 8. 16-18 and 19-23; 10. 35-36; and so on.

For these lists see Chap. I.

⁶⁵ In a verse of the 'Adi-p.' quoted in Madhavacarya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, pp. 326-7 the speaker addresses the hearer as 'Bhārata', and in the verses ascribed to the same Purāṇa in Devaṇabhatta's Smṛti-candrikā, V, PP. 194-201 the hearer is addressed as 'rājendra', 'mahārāja', 'Kuru-nandana' and 'Yudhisthira'. See also Śūlapāṇi's Śrāddha-viveka. p. 137 (ādi purāņe yeyam dipānvitā rājan etc.).

⁶⁶ In Suddhi-kaumudī, p. 40 and Hāralalā, p. 117, verses have been quoted from the 'Adi-p.' with the words 'adipurane vyasah'.

⁶⁷ ādāv ādipurāņam syād ādityākhyam dvitīyakam.

See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verse 13), and Adbhutasāgara, p. 2. 68

See, for instance, Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 870.

Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II. ii, pp. 518 and 763-8. 70

Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya take the 'Ādya Sanatkumārokta' (Purāṇa), mentioned in a list of Upapurāṇas derived by Raghunandana from the 'Kaurma', to mean the 'Ādi-p.'¹ This Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa was also called 'Sanatkumāra'², 'Sānatkumāra'¹ and 'Sanatkumārīya'¹ and also perhaps 'Sanatkumārokta'¹ or 'Sanatkumāra-prokta'¹ from the name of its chief interlocutor.

The earlier Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa occupied a very exalted position among the Upapurāṇas, so much so that it is assigned the first place in almost all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas as well as in that list of eighteen 'Purāṇas' which Alberūnī committed to writing from dictation. Alberūnī's list (which consists partly of Mahāpurāṇas and partly of Upapurāṇas, viz., Ādi, Narasiṃha, Nanda, Āditya etc.) shows that by the end of the tenth century A. D. the Ādi-p. not only attained the position of being included in the list of

- 71 Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛṭibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—sanatkumā-roktam ādipurāṇam (Kāśīrāma Vācaspati); ādyam ādi-purāṇam (Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya).
- 72 See Dbh I. 3. 13, and the 'Brahmavaivarta-p.' as quoted in the Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14, wherein the first (prathama, ādya) Upapurāṇa is called Sanatkumāra. It is to be noted that in the great majority of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas the first Upapurāṇa is the 'Ādya declared by Sanatkumāra'.

A 'Sanatkumāropapurāṇa' is drawn upon in the Śivārcana-dīpikā which is later than the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. (See Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 866, No. 2853).

- 73 See Gopāladāsa's Bhakti-ratnākara (Mitra, Notices, IX, p. 32).
- 74 See Nityācārapradīpa, I, p. 19, wherein Narasimha Vājapeyin gives a list of eighteen Upapurāṇas on the basis of that contained in the Kūrma-p. but names the first Upapurāṇa as 'Sanatkumārīya', and not as 'Ādya' like the Kūrma-p. See Chap. I (p. 4) above,
- 75 See the lists of Upapurānas (as given in Chap. I), in most of which the first Upapurāna is mentioned with the words 'ādyam sanatkumāroktam'. See also foot-note 72 above.
- 76 A good number of verses on Ekādaśī is ascribed to a work called 'Sanat-kumāra-prokta' in Gopālabhaṭṭa's Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 773 and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, pp. 993-995, 998, 999 and 1001-2 and III. ii, pp. 149, 160, 178, 181 and 184.
 - 77 Sachau, Alberūni's India, I, p. 130.

eighteen 'Puranas' but also became prominent enough to be named first of all. Hence the Adi-p. must have preceded Alberuni by a fairly long time. The Vayu-p. (chap. 104) mentions an 'Adika-p.' in a list of eighteen Puranas including the Brahma-p. (which also is sometimes called Adi-p.); Gangadhara, in his commentary on the Dharma-samhita, quotes from 'Padma-purana, chapter 19' a metrical line which includes the Saiva, Adi-p. and Devi-bhagavata among the Upapuranas;78 and the present Saura-p. is said in its chap. 9 as well as in the Reva-khanda and the Reva-mahatmya to have formed the latter part of a complete work, of which the former part was declared by Sanatkumāra 79 and which was, according to the Reva-kh. and the Reva-mahatmya, also widely known under the title 'Sanatkumāra'.80 These, as well as the first position of the Adya- (or Adi-) purana in all the comparatively early lists of eighteen Upapuranas, point to a still earlier origin of this Purana. Hence this Adya- (or Adi-) purana must be dated earlier than 700 A.D. As in some of the verses quoted from the earlier Ādi-p. there is mention of the law-giver Manu, as well as of the names of rasis and week-days,81 this Purana should not be placed before 500 A.D. It is probable that this work was written during the sixth century A. D. This early origin of the Adi-p. is supported by its non-Tantric character which is unmistakably indicated by the quotations made from it in the different Smrti Nibandhas on vrata, pūjā, dāna, etc.

As not even a single Ms of the earlier Adya- (or Adi-) purana has been found up to the present time, we shall try to give here some idea of its Smrti contents on the basis of the verses quoted from it in the commentaries and Nibandhas. An examination of these verses shows that this Purana dealt, among other topics, with the following:-

Manu is mentioned in a verse quoted in Madana-pārijāta, p. 456.

^{78 &#}x27;śaivam ādipurāṇaṃ ca devibhāgavataṃ tathā'.—Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 289.

⁷⁹⁻⁸⁰ See under Saura-p. in Vol. III of the present work. 81 See the verses ascribed to the 'Adi-p.' in Madhavacarya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, II. ii, p. 321, Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 844, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 287, Varsa-kaumudi, p. 9, and so on. See also the verse ascribed to a work called 'Sanatkumāra-prokta' in Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II. i, p. 998.

Selection of countries which are habitable to the members of the four castes; good customs and usages; marriage; cremation; funeral ceremony; periods of impurity due to miscarriage, births and deaths; methods of purification; donations; Vratas; and omina and portenta.

In his Smṛṭi-candrikā, I, pp. 18-23 Devaṇabhaṭṭa quotes from the earlier Adi-p. fifteen verses on the selection of a habitable tract of land. These verses show that this Purana spoke of two kinds of countries,dharma-deśa and adharma-deśa. The former was distinguished by the presence of antelopes, barley and Kuśa grass as well as of the four castes and orders of life and was to be resorted to by the wise, while the latter was to be shunned by them, because the twice-born could derive no benefit even by performing hundreds of sacrifices there; but the tract of land which lay along the banks of the Ganges was the most sacred of all. A person born in Aryavarta, no matter whether he was a twice-born man or not, was not allowed to go beyond the rivers Narmadā (in the south), Sindhu (in the north and west) and Karatoyā (in the east).82 Any twice-born man, who crossed the boundary of Āryāvarta for reasons other than visiting the holy places, was to purify himself by observing the Candrayana-vrata. The people of Kañci, Kośala, Saurāṣṭra and Devarāṣṭra, of the two countries known by the name Kaccha,83 and of Sauvīra and Konkaņa were very much condemned (nindita bhṛśam); and an Ārya was advised not to reside permanently in those tracts of land which were watered by the 'five rivers' and were known by the name Aratta. People, who went beyond the Narmada, Sindhu and Kaśi84 and to the western side of

aryāvarte samutpanno dvijo vā yadi vādvijaḥ/
narmadām sindhu-pāram ca karatoyām na langhayet//
āryāvartam atikramya vinā tirtha-kriyām dvijaḥ/
ājñām caiva tathā pitror aindavena viśudhyati//
(ascribed to 'Ādi-p.' in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 20).

The Karatoyā is a river in Northern Bengal and flows through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra,

- 83 These were most probably Marukaccha (modern Cutch) and Kauśiki-kaccha (the district of Purnea).
- 84 The text of the 'Ādi-p.', as given by Devanabhaṭṭa in his Smṛṭi-candrikā, I, p. 22, reads 'narmadā-sindhu-kāśinām pāram padmasya paścimam', Though we know that 'Kāśi' was the name of the country, of which Benares was

Padma (? pāraṃ padmasya paścimam) and lived there for a period longer than that required for visiting the holy places, were sure to visit the hells after death. No marriage or funeral ceremony, nor any sacrifice was to be performed in Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Vindhya and Mālavaka, in the countries lying on the south of the Narmadā, as well as in those on the north of the Sindhu, and in Pauṇḍra, Surāṣṭra, Caidya, Kerala and Magadha. If a twice-born man chanced to go, out of his own accord and not for visiting holy places, to Saurāṣṭra, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Āvantya, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Kaliṅga or other bordering countries, he was excommunicated and was to be purified by sacraments. These and other impious countries (pāpa-deśāh) were inhabited by impious people; so, a twice-born man, who went to these countries, became equally impious.

Going to deal with good customs and usages which were to be followed by the people, this Purāṇa said that the people of the Kali age, being given to sinful acts, were not fit for practising that dharma (law and custom) which was meant for the people of the Kṛta age. Hence a twice-born man of the Kali age was to avoid the following:—

Practice of celibacy (as a student) for a long period, carrying a kamaṇḍalu (as a forest-hermit or as a wandering mendicant), slaughter of cows (in sacrifices), performance of human and horse sacrifices, drinking of wine, sexual union with his own brother's wife, division of paternal property by allotting the largest share to the eldest son, and marriage with a girl belonging to the same gotra as that of himself or having sapiṇḍa relationship with his mother or married to another person before.

Be He was to take his meal after his dependants, who consisted

the capital, it seems that the original reading for ''kāśīnām' was ''kośīnām', The river Kośī or Kauśikī formed the western boundary of Paundravardhana. Cf. the verse 'himavat-kauśikam vindhyam pāram padmasya paścimam/ tirtha-yātrām vinā gatvā punah saṃskāram arhati//'quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in Smṛticandrikā, I, p. 23.

85 For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p, see Smṛti-candrikā, I, pp. 29 and 221. The verse 'ūḍhāyāḥ punar udvāhaṃ jyeṣṭhāṃśaṃ govadhaṃ tathā/ kalau pañca na kurvīta bhrātṛ-jāyāṃ kamaṇḍalum//' is ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 221 but to the 'Āditya-p.' in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, p. 91.

of the poor blood-relations on his father's and mother's side and of other helpless persons living under his care. In taking his meal he was to observe certain rules, 86 viz., he was not to take his meal by sitting or lying on his bed, or from a different seat, or in the morning, midday or evening, or with wet clothes on, or with the wet head, or without the sacred thread, or with his feet placed on a machine (yantra), or with his wife, or in a deserted house, a temple or a fire-sanctuary. A Brahmin might take his meal with his Brahmin wife on his way (to a distant place), but if he took his meal with his wife of a lower caste, he was degraded from his caste. 87 If, at a dinner party, any of the persons rinsed his mouth without leaving his seat, others were to leave their meals at once and wash their hands and mouths. A Brahmin was advised not to take his meal by taking his seat in the same line with other Brahmins or even with his own relatives, because he could not be sure that the latter were not guilty of pātakas.

As regards marriage, 88 it has already been said that the earlier Adi-p. disallowed the remarriage of a girl, no matter whether she was a widow or not. A person, who had such a girl as his wife, was always considered impure. This Purāṇa was of opinion that the father, who allowed his daughter to be married according to the Gāndharva form or who married his daughter to a suitable bridegroom by accepting money from the latter, attained the region of the Gandharvas after death.89

86 For the relevant verses of the Adi-p. see Smrti-candrika, II, pp. 617-618, and Madana-pārijata, p. 333.

brāhmaṇyā bhāryayā sārdhaṃ kvacid bhuñjīta vādhvani/, adho-varṇa-striyā sārdhaṃ bhuktvā patati tatkṣaṇāt//

This verse is ascribed to the Adi-p. in Smrti-candrika, II, pp. 617-8, but to the Aditya-p. in Madhavacarya's com. on the Parasara-smrti, I. i, p. 425.

88 For the verses of the Ādi-p. on marriage see Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 221, Hāralatā, p. 15, and Dāna-kaumudī, p. 80.

gandharvena vivāhena yas tu kanyām prayacchati/ gandharva-lokam vrajati gandharvaih pūjyate narah// śulkena dadyād yah kanyām varāya sadṛśāya ca/ kimnaraih saha gīyeta gāndharvam lokam eti ca//

These two verses are ascribed to the Adi-p. in Dana-kaumudi, p. 80, but to the Aditya-p. in Varșa-kaumudi, p. 575.

A large number of verses on cremation of a dead body has been quoted in Aniruddha-bhatta's Hāralatā, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā (Part V), Govindānanda's Suddhi-kaumudī, and Raghunandana's Smṛṭi-tattva. These verses state that when a twice-born man was on the point of death, he was taken out of the house in which he was lying. He was then bathed, dressed with a sacred piece of cloth, and laid down on the ground with his head turned towards the south. The place, at which he was thus laid, was already strewn over with Kusa grass. When he breathed his last, his body was bathed, dressed with a piece of cloth, adorned with flowers, garlands etc., scented with perfumes, and furnished with a piece of bell-metal, gold, gem or coral placed in its mouth. It was then taken out of the house by its eastern, northern or western gate according as the deceased person was a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaisya, and carried by the deceased person's relatives or other twice-born people to the burning ground, which was generally situated on the bank of a river, or near water. But if there was no water or snow near the burning ground, the persons accompanying the dead body were to talk about water or call out 'Snow, snow'. While the dead body was carried to the burning ground, a great noise was produced by means of four kinds of musical instruments. 90 At the burning ground the dead body was laid down with care, bathed, covered with a piece of cloth, and placed on a funeral pile by the deceased person's blood-relations on his father's side or by his kinsmen or other relatives, with its feet turned towards the south. 91 In the case of a male, the dead body was placed on the funeral pile with its face turned downwards, but in the case of a female, it was placed on its back. It was then set on fire by the

...// śmaśāna-bhūmim netavyah ... 90

caturvidhena vādyena kuryuḥ kolāhalam mahat// Hāralatā, p. 125 and Suddhi-kaumudī, p. 110.

This method of placing a dead body on the funeral pile was followed by Brahmins other than the followers of the Sama-veda. The Sāma-vedī Brahmins placed the dead body with its head turned towards

the south.

proper person. When the dead body was mostly consumed by fire and only a small portion of it remained unburnt, the person, who set fire to it, took in his hand seven pieces of fuel of prescribed lengths, went seven times round the fire by keeping it to his right, and threw those pieces of fuel, one by one, into the fire after each complete circumambulation. He, as well as each of his companions, then gave with an axe seven strokes on the burning fuel by pronouncing the mantra 'kravyādāya namas tubhyam etc.' After that, all of them went to the adjoining river without looking to the funeral pyre, took their bath there, and offered libations of water to the departed soul by facing the south. They then returned to the village and waited outside the house until the person who set fire to the dead body went to a neighbouring pool with a club in his hand, 92 took his bath, brought water in an earthen pot, cooked rice with it in the north-eastern side of the house, and offered balls of rice in the prescribed manner to the departed soul at the gate of the house. The person, who thus offered pindas (balls of rice) to the deceased person on the first day of his death, was to offer these in the same way during the remaining nine days also.

If an āhitāgni twice-born man went abroad after leaving his wife in charge of his fire and died there, his body was preserved until it was brought home and cremated with his own fire. If his body was

92 The text of the Adi-p. is as follows:

mṛṇmayaṃ bhāṇḍam ādāya navaṃ snātaḥ susaṃyataḥ/ laguḍaṃ sarva-doṣaghnaṃ gṛhītvā toyam ānayet// (See Hāralatā, p. 164, Suddhi-kaumudī, p. 128, and Smṛṭi-tattva, II, p. 321). But Aniruddhabhaṭṭa explains the second line thus:

lagudam grhitveti agragāmi-puruṣāntara-hastena lagudam grhitvetyarthah/ 'toyārtham tu tato gacched grhitvā puruṣam purah/ grhita-lagudam yatnāt sarva-duṣṭa-nivāraṇam//' iti govindarāja-likhita-vṛddhapraceto-vacanāt/ tena laguda-hastam puruṣam agre kṛtvā piṇḍā-rtham mrnmaya bhāndara it

rtham mṛṇmaya-bhāṇḍena jalam ānetavyam/ (Hāralatā, p. 166).

So, according to Aniruddhabhaṭṭa the club was borne not by the person who was to fetch water from a neighbouring pool for offering piṇḍas to the departed soul but by another member of the party who was to lead the former to the pool.

not available, his bones were brought home, soaked with ghee, covered with wool, and burnt in the above-mentioned manner along with his implements of sacrifice. In the absence of bones, an effigy was made with leaves of Sara (reed) and Palasa, covered with an antelopeskin, tied with a thread of wool, besmeared with finely powdered barley mixed with water, and burnt. If a person, whose effigy was thus burnt by his relatives by taking him to be dead, returned home, he was to kindle the sacred fire afresh and a sacrifice was to be performed for giving him a long life. If a piece of bone was received after his effigy had been burnt, it was burnt with the fire produced by means of those half-burnt pieces of fuel which remained after the burning of the effigy. If no such fuel was available, the piece of bone was thrown into deep water. If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, one died before the other, the body of the former was burnt with the three kinds of fire, viz., Srauta, Smarta and Laukika, while that of the latter was cremated with the Laukika fire only.93

The bones of a dead person were collected from the burning ground generally on the fourth, fifth or sixth day according as this person was a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya. According to local customs, his bones could be collected earlier by a day. But if the period of impurity consisted only of three days, the bones could be collected on the second day; and in case of impurity ending immediately (sadyah-śauca), the collection could be made just after the

ahitāgnyoś ca dampatyor yas tvādau mriyate bhuvi/,
tasya dehaḥ sapiṇḍaiś ca dagdhavyas tribhir agnibhiḥ/,
paścān mṛtasya dehas tu dagdhavyo laukikāgninā//

(Adi-p. quoted in Haralata, p. 142).

These lines have been explained by Aniruddhabhatta as follows:

If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, the husband died before his wife, his body was cremated with the three kinds of fire, viz., Srauta, Smārta and Laukika; and the wife, who died after her husband, was burnt with the Laukika fire only. But if the wife died before her husband, she was burnt with the three kinds of fire, and the husband was to kindle the sacred fire afresh, If he did so, he was burnt with the three kinds of fire after his death. But if he died before kindling the sacred fire afresh, his body was cremated with the Laukika fire only. (See Hāralatā, pp. 143-4).

burning of the dead body. During this rite of collection of bones (asthi-samcayana) Samkara and the carnivorous deities residing in the burning ground were worshipped in the prescribed manner with the offer of various kinds of food, drinks, fruits, scents, flowers etc. The bones of the head were then taken by means of pieces of branches of a sacrificial tree, sprinkled with the five products of a cow (pañca-gavya), covered with a piece of silk-cloth, placed in an earthen vessel furnished with a lid, and buried at a sacred place in a forest or at the root of a tree. In opportune times these bones were taken out, placed in a lump of earth together with a piece of gold as well as with honey, ghee and sesamum, and thrown into the Ganges by the deceased person's descendants or by his relations on his father's or mother's side.

In case of death of a child aged less than two years, the dead body was adorned by its relatives with ornaments, flowers, scents, garlands etc., placed in an earthen pot, and buried underground in a sacred place outside the village.

In the case of a dying Sūdra, removal from the house was not compulsory even when he was breathing his last. But when, after his death, the dead body was taken out, all the earthen wares of the house in which he died were thrown away. The dead body of a Sūdra was to be removed to the burning ground through the southern gate of the house. As Sūdras had no Srauta fire to maintain, the method of cremation was necessarily simpler in their case. No Brahmin was allowed to burn a Sūdra, even if the latter was his friend, and if he did so through mistake, he was to purify himself by taking his bath, touching fire, drinking ghee, and observing fast for three consecutive nights. The rite of collection of bones of a Sūdra was to be performed after the tenth day. It might also be performed on the tenth day, if local customs demanded so.

Regarding the methods of disposing of the dead body as prevailing among the Magas and Daradas of those days, there are a few lines quoted in Aniruddhabhaṭṭa's Hāralatā. These lines inform us that the Magas buried their corpses underground. The Daradas, on the

⁹⁴ For the method of worship see the verses of the Adi-p. quoted in Haralata, pp. 186ff. and Suddhi-kaumudi, pp. 145-6.

other hand, kept their dead bodies suspended from the branches of such trees as stood far away from human habitations and were leafy enough to protect these dead bodies from rain. After the expiry of a complete year these dried up corpses were brought down from those trees, bathed with the waters of the Ganges, and burnt.95

A large number of verses of the earlier Adi-p. is found quoted in the Nibandhas in connection with the determination of the period of impurity to be observed by the deceased person's relatives and others. The periods of impurity were determined by various factors such as the nature of relation of the persons with the deceased, their occupation, their caste, their motive in cremating a dead body, the caste, age, sex or character of the deceased person, the nature of death, the nature of help the person to be deemed impure rendered in cremating the dead body, acceptance of remuneration for carrying the dead body or cremating it, and so on. Even if a Brahmin, who was not a relative of a deceased Brahmin, lamented with the latter's relatives before the rite of collection of bones had been performed, he was to take his bath and sip water after the performance of the rite; if he did so for a Ksatriya or a Vaisya, he was to bathe with all his garments on and became pure on the second day; but by lamenting for a Sūdra, he was to bathe with his clothes on and remain impure for three days. Lamentation for a deceased person after the collection of his bones caused impurity to a Brahmin for a day and a night. In the case of the members of other castes, lamentation necessitated bath with all the garments on, if this lamentation was made before the collection of bones, but if it was made after the collection, they required simple bath for attaining purity.96

Impurity was also caused to certain relatives by births and miscarriage, and its period varied under different conditions. A man, who

95 See Hāralatā, p. 126 magā bhūmau nikhanyante daradāś ca mṛtān sadā/ āsadya vṛkṣe gacchanti luptrakāś ca svabāndhavam//, ghana-cchaye sugupte tu tiro varșani varșati/, tataḥ saṃvatsare pūrņe sarva-saṃbhāra-saṃbhṛtāḥ// śuskam tam jāhnavi-toye praksipya pradahanti ca//, 96 For the relevant verses of the Adi-p. see Hāralatā, p. 91 and pp. 63-64. had as his wife a woman previously married to another person, was always deemed impure.97

The numerous verses quoted from the 'Adi-p.' in the Smrti Nibandhas in connection with śrāddha show that this Purāṇa dealt elaborately with the various points connected with this topic, viz., persons eligible for performing it under different circumstances, the method of its performance, the method of offering pindas, the number of Brahmins to be fed on this occasion, the proper day for performing the śrāddha ceremony of those who committed suicide by starting on a long journey, or fasting, or hanging, or by means of a weapon, fire or poison, enumeration of persons who deserved no śraddha ceremony (viz., those who were killed by others while abducting the latter's wives or were killed in a fight with the Candalas or such other people, or administered poison, or set fire to others' houses, or were Pasandas, or committed suicide out of anger, and so on), the method of performing the śrāddha ceremony at Gayā, and similar other matters. A Brahmin was forbidden to perform the śrāddha ceremony of persons of lower castes, even if the latter were his own sons. If he did so out of passion, greed, fear or affection, he was degraded to the caste of that person whose śrāddha ceremony he performed. Sons, born of Ksatriya, Vaisya or Sūdra mothers, were advised to perform the śrāddha ceremony of their deceased Brahmin father. In case of death of these sons, their own mothers were to perform their śrāddha ceremony, and vice

Though the verses quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in connection with donations are not many, 98 this Purāṇa was certainly not very poor in this topic. In his Dānasāgara Vallālasena says that various kinds of donations were dealt with in the Ādi-p. according to their subdivisions (or, in accordance with the divisions of the year in which these were to be

anyapūrvā yasya gehe bhāryā syāt tasya nityaśaḥ/ aśaucaṃ sarva-kāryeṣu dehe bhavati sarvadā/ dānaṃ pratigrahaḥ snānaṃ sarvaṃ tasya bhaved vṛthā//

(see Hāralatā, p. 15). (on Kapilā-dāna), Dānasāgara, pp. 276 and 280-286, Dāna-kaumudī, p. 40 (on bhūmi-dāna), and so on.

made?), and that in his Dānasāgara he quoted from this Purāṇa only a few verses on donations because he fully utilised its sections on dāna in his Ācārasāgara.99

The earlier Ādi-p. contained chapters on Vratas and festivals also. In Smṛṭi-tattva, I, p. 47 two verses on Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī are quoted from the earlier Ādi-p. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, p. 518 Hemādri quotes nine metrical lines on Yugādi-vidhi (which required the gift of barley and the performance of homa and Viṣṇu-worship with it), and on pp. 763-8 he quotes 30 verses on pradīpa-vidhi. According to these last-mentioned verses the pradīpa-vidhi was observed for one month from Āśvina-paurṇamāsī to Kārttika-paurṇamāsī. At the end of this period, the Dīpa-mahotsava was performed for three days, during which lamps were lighted in the evening in the houses of the poor as well as in other places, viz., burning grounds, temples, banks of rivers, roads, caityas etc. Gifts of gold, silver, land, cows, paddy, fruits, beds etc. were also made to Brahmins on this occasion.

For the large number of verses on tīrthas (especially Gayā and Vṛddha-tīrtha) see Smṛṭi-candrikā, V, pp. 194-201. Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛṭi, I. ii, pp. 307-8, and Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 878-9. The chapters on Gayā of the earlier Ādi-p. seem to have formed the basis of chaps. 105-112 (on Gayā-māhātmya) of the present Vāyu-p. in which Sanatkumāra speaks to Nārada on Gayā and which mentions an Ādika-p. in chap. 104 and has retained a few verses from the former. 100

99 Dānasāgara, p. 6 (verse 56)—
śrutāny ādipurāņe tu dānāny anuvibhāgataḥ/
ācārasāgaroktatvān na kīrtyante'tra kṛtsnaśaḥ//
(For 'anuvibhāgataḥ' the India Office Ms reads 'abda-vibhāgataḥ').

See also p. 3 (verses 12-14)—

tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ//,

uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhini ca//

ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāmbaṃ ca kālikāhvayam eva ca/

nāndam āditya.saṃjñaṃ ca nārasiṃhaṃ tathaiva ca//

100 For instance, Vāyu-p., chap. 110, verses 2-3 and chap. 111, verse 1 are the same as the verses ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Smrti candrikā, V, p. 194.

Ten verses on omens and portents have been ascribed to the Ādip. in Adbhutasāgara, pp. 546, 548, 550 and 552-6. Of these, one (in Adbhutasāgara, p. 546) is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in many of the Mss of the Adbhutasāgara. The remaining nine verses also might have been taken from the Aditya-p. At least the metrical similarity between these verses and those quoted from the Āditya-p. in the Adbhuta-sāgara tends to create such an impression.

It should be mentioned here that a good number of verses of the Adi-p. has been wrongly ascribed to the Aditya-p., or vice versa, For instance, in Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II. ii, pp. 348-9 Hemādri ascribes to the 'Aditya-p.' an extract of 29 lines dealing with Sukhasupti-vrata101 and Dyūta-pratipad and having Sanatkumāra as the speaker; the verse 'sanmāsābhyantaram yāvat' is ascribed to the Adi-p. in Suddhi-kaumudī, p. 43 and Kullūkabhatta's com. on Manu-Smrti V. 66, but to the Aditya-p. in Smrti-tattva, II, p. 260; the verse 'vivāha-yajñayor madhye' is ascribed to the Adi-p. in Suddhi-kaumudī, p. 67 and Hāralatā, pp. 105-6, but to the Aditya-p. in Kālasāra, p. 272; and so on. On the other hand, the verse 'madhūkam rāmatham caiva' is ascribed to the Aditya-p. in Apararka's com., p. 554, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 205, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśarasmṛti, I. ii, p. 370, Śrāddha-kaumudī, p. 18, and Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 226, but to the Ādi-p. in Madana-pārijāta, p. 552 and Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāsara-smṛti, I. ii, p. 373; the verse 'api dātṛ-grahitroś ca' is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 105 and Kālasāra, pp. 255 and 271 but to the Adi-p. in Suddhi-

Kārttikī Amāvāsyā, were the following: —Fast at day-time (in case the worshipper was not a child or an invalid); worship of Lakṣmī in the evening; illumination at temples, crossings of roads, burning grounds, pastures, etc.; decoration of market-places with light, clothes, flowers, etc.; feeding of Brahmins and the poor; dining with friends and relatives after wearing new clothes and ornaments; and so on. On the Kārttikī Sukla-pratipad the worshipper was to play at dice in the morning, dine with friends at noon, hear songs and musical concerts after wearing ornaments and using perfumes, decorate the bedroom with light, garlands etc., pass the night with beloved women, and in the morning honour Brahmins, friends and relatives with new clothes.

kaumudī, p. 68; and so on. Even in the same work a particular verse is ascribed to the Adi-p. in some Mss and to the Aditya-p. in

The earlier Adi-p. must have been a Vaisnava work. In a verse ascribed to the Adi-p. in Smrti-tattva, II, p. 512, all-pervading Visnu is said to have made a rule, according to which the gods did not reside in their respective images under certain conditions; 103 Aparārka and Govindānanda quote from the Ādi-p. a verse which states that the donor of land of the measurement of even a go-carma becomes free from all his sins and attains the region of Visnu.104 Viṣṇu is mentioned on many occasions 105 and Viṣṇu-worship is prescribed in many of the quoted verses; 106 Samkara is spoken of in a verse as a deity residing in the burning ground; 107 and so on.

3. THE KALKI-PURĀNA 108

This is one of the late Upapurāṇas. It claims to be a continuation of the Bhagavata-p. and to deal with future

102 See Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, p. 23, Kālanirnaya, p. 215, Kālasāra, pp. 361 and 541, Adbhutasāgara, p. 546, and Aparārka's com., p. 1225.

- khandite sphutite dagdhe bhraste sthana-vivarjite/ 103 yagahine paśu-sprste patite dusta-bhūmisu// anya-mantrārcite caiva patita-sparśa-dūșite/ daśasv etesu no cakruh samnidhānam divaukasah// iti sarva-gato visnuh paribhāṣām cakāra ha/
- See Aparārka's com., p. 1225, and Dāna-kaumudī, p. 40.

105 See Aparārka's com., p. 879 (yathā viṣṇur viśokāya tathā tirtham anāmayam) and p. 879 (saṃkarṣaṇaṃ vapur viṣṇoś caṇḍāgni-bhavadāhakam).

106 See Dānasāgara, p. 619 (ghṛtena snapitum viṣṇum śaktyā sampūjayet tatah), and Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II. ii, p. 518 (... ... yavair viṣṇum samarcayet).

107 Hāralatā, p. 186.

108 Besides Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition which we have used in the following pages, there are many more editions, two of which are the following :-

(1) Jaganmohana Tarkālamkāra's edition published by Kedar Nath

Banerjee, Calcutta 1873; and

(2) Pañcānana Tarkaratna's edition published with a Bengali translation by the Vangavasi Press, Calcutta, 1315 B. S.

events. 109 As a matter of fact, it describes the deeds of Visnu to be performed at the close of the Kali-yuga, when he will be born as Kalki, son of Visnuyasas and Sumati of Sambhalagrāma. It is divided into three Amsas or parts, of which the first two consist of seven chapters each and the third of twenty-one chapters. The contents of these chapters are as follows.

Amśa I.

Chap. 1.—Salutation to Vighnesa, who is adored first of all in the Vedic, Tantric and other scriptures. Invocation of Kalki, who is Hari himself.

Saunaka and others of Naimiṣāraṇya requested Sūta to speak on the origin and exploits of Kali. Consequently, Sūta referred to the tradition of inheritance of the Bhāgavata-dharma and narrated how he had heard that portion of the topics of the Bhāgavata-p. which Suka had spoken out to Mārkaṇḍeya and others after the death of king Viṣṇurāta (Parīkṣit) and which was concerned with future events. He then spoke on the following topics:—

Brahmā's creation of Adharma from his back. Adharma's descendants. Birth of Kali in the family of Adharma. Description of Kali. Kali's descendants. Degradation of people during the reign of Kali. Gods' approach with the Earth to Brahmā for redress.

Chap. 2.—Brahmā's approach to Viṣṇu, and the latter's assurance that he would manifest himself in the house of Viṣṇuyaśas at Saṃbhala

For Mss of this work see

- (1) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1188-89, No. 3338 (complete; written in Bengali script; not divided into Amsas, all its chapters being numbered continuously).
- (2) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans, College Cat., IV, pp. 8-9, No. 11 (complete; written in Bengali script; not divided into Amsas; chapters numbered continuously).
- (3) Dacca University Mss Nos. 234 (complete; written in Bengali script) and 4090 (complete; written in Bengali script; dated Saka 1726).

and that Lakṣmī would be born as Padmā, daughter of king Bṛhadratha of Ceylon. Visnu's request to the gods to be born on earth.

Visnu's birth and assumption of a two-handed form. Naming of new-born Visnu as Kalki. Kalki's determination to free the earth from the influence of Kali.

Chap. 3.—Kalki's study of the Vedas and the various sciences (including Dhanurveda) with Bhārgava Rāma. His worship and eulogy of Bilvodakeśvara-śiva, with the result that he received a horse, a Suka bird and a sword from the latter. His return to Sambhalagrāma, establishment of Varnāśrama-dharma, and meeting with Viśākhayūpa, king of Māhiṣmatī.

Chap. 4.—Kalki's speech to king Viśākhayūpa on the origin of the universe from himself as well as on the characteristics of Brahmins (who should practise Varnāśrama-dharma and have Tilaka marks).

Return of the Suka bird from Simhala with the information that Padmāvatī, daughter of king Brhadratha, received a boon from Siva that she would have Nārāyaṇa as her husband.

Chap. 5.—The Suka's further statement that the kings who attended the 'svayamvara-sabha' arranged by Brhadratha, turned females as soon as they looked amorously at Padmāvatī, and became her attendants.

Chap. 6.—The Suka's return to Simhala at the request of Kalki and meeting with Padmavati, who told the bird everything about her ambition.

Chap. 7.—Padmāvatī's description of the method of worshipping Visnu with the mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya'. Method of Visnudhyāna.

Amśa II.

Chaps. 1-3.—Padmāvatī's description of the method of Visnuworship-continued.

The Suka's return to Kalki, who then met Padmavatī in Simhala and married her.

The transformed kings' regaining of malehood by bathing in the river Reva. Their eulogy of Visnu by mentioning the names of his ten incarnations including the Buddha.

Chaps. 4-5.—Kalki's instructions to the kings on Varṇā-śrama-dharma.

Appearance of sage Ananta before the kings at Kalki's wish. Ananta's description of his own experience of Viṣṇu-māyā at Puru-sottama; and his praise of Kalki as being capable of giving 'nirvāṇa'.

Chap. 6.—Kalki's return to Sambhala with Padmāvatī and living in a house built for him by Viśvakarman. Birth of two sons, named Jaya and Vijaya, to Kalki. Kalki's going to the city of Kīkaṭa with a huge army for chastising the Buddha; and his meeting with the 'Jina' who came out of the city with a large number of his followers.

Chap. 7.—Kalki's fight with the Bauddhas led by the 'Jina'. The Jina's defeat and death in the fight. The Bauddhas' futile attempt to defeat Kalki with the help of the Mlecchas.

Amśa III.

Chap. 1.—Kalki's victory over the Bauddhas and the Mlecchas, and his instructions on bhakti-yoga, karma-yoga and jñāna-yoga to the latter's wives, who were up in arms against him.

Chap. 2.—Kalki's return from Kīkaṭa and meeting with the Bālakhilya sages at Cakra-tīrtha. His going to the Himālaya at the request of these sages and killing of the demoness Kuthodarī and her son Vikañja.

Chap. 3.—Kalki's meeting, on the Himālaya, with kings Maru and Devāpi of the Solar and the Lunar race respectively. Maru's mention of the names of the descendants of Ikṣvāku down to Rāma.

Story of the birth and deeds of Rāma, son of Dasaratha.

Chap. 4.—Names of Rāma's descendants including Maru, who was also called Budha and Sumitra and who was waiting at Kalāpagrāma for Viṣṇu's incarnation at the close of the Kali age.

Devāpi's mention of the names of the kings of the Lunar race from Budha downwards. Kalki's determination to place Maru and Devāpi on the thrones of Ayodhyā and Hastināpura respectively after killing the Mlecchas and the Pukkasas of those places. His advice to these two kings to marry the daughters of Viśākhayūpa and Rucirāśva respectively and help him in re-establishing the Kṛta-yuga. His giving of two divine chariots to Maru and Devāpi.

Chap. 5.—Kṛta-yuga's arrival in the form of a 'maskarin'. His account of the fourteen Manvantaras. Kalki's decision to fight with Kali in the city of Viśasana.

Chaps. 6-7.—Kalki's start with Maru, Devāpi and others in his train, and meeting with Dharma, who was driven out of Viśasana by Kali. His decisive war against Kali and his allies, viz., Khaśas, Kāmbojas, Śavaras, Varvaras, Cīnas, Pulindas, Colas, Niṣādas and others. Kali's defeat and escape to another varṣa. Kalki's killing of Koka and Vikoka.

Chaps. 8-13.—Kalki's arrival at Bhallāṭa-nagara which was ruled by a Vaiṣṇava king named Saśidhvaja. Saśidhvaja's conversation with his wife Suśāntā, in which he justified his decision for war by referring to the dvaitādvaita system of philosophy. Saśidhvaja's fight with Kalki; and his capturing the latter in an unconscious state to his own house. Suśāntā's eulogy of Kalki. Saśidhvaja's giving his daughter Ramā in marriage to Kalki. Story of Saśidhvaja and his wife's previous birth as vultures. Method of Viṣṇu-worship. Discourses on Viṣṇu-bhakti. Saśidhvaja's narration of the story of Dvivida, who attained liberation by being killed by Balarāma. Saśidhvaja's mention of some exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

Chaps. 14-15.—Other deeds of Kalki, viz., his liberating the poison-girl at Kāńcanapurī, his installing of his followers on the thrones of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Vāraṇāvata, Puṇḍra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kīkaṭa etc., his return to Saṃbhala and introduction of the Kṛta-yuga, and his liberating Saśidhvaja who eulogised Māyā at Kokāmukha.

Chap. 16.—Performance of Rājasūya and other sacrifices by Viṣṇuyaśas. Nārada's instructions to Viṣṇuyaśas on the nature of Māyā and the glory of Kalki. Arrival of Paraśurāma at Saṃbhala.

Chap. 17.—Description of the method of performing the Rukminī-vrata, which Rāma performed for a son at Paraśurāma's advice. Praise of this Vrata by means of the story of Sarmisthā and Devayānī.

Chaps. 18-19.—Kalki's amorous sports with his wives. Brahmā and others' arrival at Sambhala, and Kalki's passing to heaven.

Chaps. 20-21.—Eulogy of Gangā. Contents of the Kalki-p., which is said to consist of six thousand and one hundred verses; praise of studying this work. Conclusion.

The Kalki-p., as its contents show, is purely a Vaiṣṇava work, its philosophic standpoint being 'dvaitādvaita'. It knows Viṣṇu's ten incarnations including Balabhadra and the Buddha, and seems to regard Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat himself. It mentions the Tulasī plant once and the 'Tantras' on several occasions. By its statement that Kalki defeated the Buddha and his followers and carried on dig-vijaya for the establishment of dharma, this work seems to betray its knowledge of Saṃkarācārya's activities. That it is a late work is shown definitely by the fact that it is not referred to or drawn upon by any of the numerous Smṛṭi-writers known to us. It is, however, not to be dated later than the beginning of the eighteenth century A. D. One of its Mss was copied in Saka 1726.

The Kalki-p. must have been written in Bengal. Almost all its Mss, hitherto discovered, are written in Bengali script; and in Amsa I, chap. 2 (verses 38 and 41) it speaks of 'ten sacraments' (daśa saṃskārāḥ) for Brahmins.

4. THE PURUSOTTAMA-PURANA

This Upapurāṇa has not yet been printed, but a Ms of a work entitled Puruṣottama-p. has been mentioned in Bühler's Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Private Libraries of Gujarāṭ, Kāṭhiāwāḍ, Kachchh, Sindh and Khandeś (2. 14). We do not know of any other Ms of this Upapurāṇa, nor does its title occur in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us.

Of the numerous commentaries, Nibandhas and various other works examined by us in this connection it is only the Kālasāra of Gadādhara which ascribes a verse to the 'Puruṣottama-p.' This quoted verse and the title of its source show that the 'Puruṣottama-p.', as known to Gadādhra, was a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with the glori-

110 See Kālasāra, p. 184—

*puruṣottama-purāṇe—

jayasva kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇeti subhadreti sakṛn narāḥ/

vadanti mārjane kāle yānti brahma-padaṃ mama//

fication of Purusottama-kṣetra (Puri) as well as with the method and praise of the worship of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā there. As this quoted verse, in which Kṛṣṇa himself seems to be the speaker, is found neither in the chapters on Purusottama-kṣetra of the present Brahma-p. nor in the Purusottama-māhātmya111 of the Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p., the 'Purusottama-p.' drawn upon by Gadadhara must have been a distinct work. Gadadhara's quotation from this work shows that it was written not later than 1200 A.D.

As the above-mentioned Ms of the Purusottama-p., lying far beyond our reach, could not be examined, it is not possible for us to say whether or how far this Upapurāṇa is the same as that used by Gadādhara in his Kālasāra.

5. THE BRHANNĀRADĪYA-PURĀŅA

This work, which was printed on more occasions than one,112 can hardly claim to have had a very early origin. Yet it attained consider-

111 In Purușottama-māhātmya, chap. 31, there is a verse (No. 86-jayasva rāma kṛṣṇeti jaya bhadreti yo vadet/,

> jaya kṛṣṇa jagannātha nāthety uccārayan mudā/ snāna-kāle sa vai muktim prayāti dvija-sattamāh//)

which resembles much the verse of the Purusottama-p, mentioned above. But in this verse of the Purusottama-māhātmya it is Jaimini, and not Kṛṣṇa, who is the speaker.

So far as I know, this work was published twice by the Vangavasi Press, Calcutta (the second edition having appeared in 1316 B.S.) and once by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1891 A.D.

Both these editions consist of 38 chapters and have generally the same text, although there are occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the

corresponding chapters.

The Vanga. ed. is printed in Bengali characters. Yet, to avoid confusion in references, I have used it in the present work, because in my Puranic Records also I used it (in discussing its date and relation with the present Nāradīya-p.) in preference to the ASB ed., in which the verses have not in all cases been properly numbered. For instance, verses 80.85 of chap. 13 have been numbered in this edition simply as '80/81' without any demarcation, and verses 26-47 of chap. 24 have been wrongly numbered as 16-37. However, in using the Vanga. ed. I have always taken particular care to compare its readings with those of the

able popularity as an interesting handbook of religious and ethical value, and this is evident from the discovery of its Mss¹¹³ (written in different characters) from different parts of India.

Being meant exclusively for the Vaisnavas it begins with a salutation, in two verses, to Upendra (Kṛṣṇa) of Vṛndāvana, who is said to be the original deity (ādi-deva) consisting of pure consciousness and

ASB ed. and to see that no deduction is made from any verse, the text of which is not supported by both these editions.

113 For these Mss see especially

(1) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 9-11, Nos. 47-49 (all complete in 38 chaps.), of which No. 48 is written in Devanāgarī and No. 49 in Bengali scripts.

(2) Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, pp. 129-130, No. 452 (consisting of

39 chaps.).

(3) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., p. 225, No. 479 (written in Nāgara).

- (4) Shastri, Nepal Cat., p. 24 (No. 845 \, which ends in chap. 30 and is written in Maithila script), p. 25 (No. 910 \, which is written in Maithila script and dated La.-Sam. 429), and p. 29 (No. 1001 \, which also is written in Maithila script and is dated La.-Sam. 425).
- (5) A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss Acquired for and Deposited in the Government Sanskrit College Library, Sarasvatī Bhavana, Benares, 1918-30 (Prepared under the Supervision of Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kaviraj), Vol. I, p. 16 (written in Bengali script).
- (6) Dacca University Mss Nos, 548 (incomplete), 605B (incomplete), 625 (complete), 937 (complete; dated Saka 1648), 1013 (complete; dated Saka 1646); 1317 (incomplete), 1667 (complete; dated Saka 1578), 1704 (complete; dated Saka 1689), 2670 (complete; dated Saka 1614), 2712 (complete; dated Saka 1618), 3836 (complete), 4091 (complete; dated Saka 1725), 4234 (ending in chap. 37; dated Saka 1609), 4329 (complete).

All these Mss are written in Bengali script, and in the complete ones the work consists of 38 chapters.

- (7) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1208-9, Nos. 3368-73 (all complete in 38 chapters and written in Devanāgarī). Of these, Nos. 3368, 3369 and 3370 are dated 1535, 1747 and 1769 A. D. respectively.
- (8) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, pp. 914-5, Nos. 6612-13 (both being complete in 38 chapters). Of these two Mss, the former was copied in Bengali script in 1775 A.D. and the latter in Grantha characters in 1866-67 A.D.
- (9) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. i, pp. 1453-54, No. 2139 (breaking off in the 38th chapter; written in Telugu), and p. 1454, No. 2140 (complete in 38 chapters; written in Grantha characters).

also appearing in parts as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa and others for the sake of creation. It then introduces its topics by narrating the story of Saunaka as follows:

Saunaka and many other sages practised austerities and worshipped Visnu with great devotion in the Naimisa forest, some of them trying to please the god by austere practices, some by following the path of knowledge (jñāna), and some by cultivating the highest type of Bhakti. Once these and innumerable other sages met in a conference to find out the best means of attaining the four ends of life, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. Finding that the sages were about to put to him questions as to what the sacred places and the Tirthas were, how people could attain final liberation and unswerving devotion to Hari, and in what way the three kinds of actions bore fruit, Saunaka referred them to Sūta, the best Paurāṇika, who was engaged in worshipping Janārdana by various sacrifices at Siddhāśrama. Saunaka said that Sūta, son of Lomaharsana, was a pupil of Vyasa and, being instructed by the latter in all the Sastras, used to speak out in the Purānas the essence of the Vedas, Vedāngas and other works and that with the decrease of Dharma in the different Yugas Madhusūdana appeared as Vyasa and divided the Veda. Being thus informed of Sūta's learning and wisdom, the sages thanked Saunaka and went to Siddhāśrama where Sūta had undertaken to perform the Agnistoma sacrifice for the pleasure of Nārāyaṇa. After Sūta had taken his holy bath at the conclusion of the sacrifice, the sages requested him to speak to them on the source and nature of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe, the method of pleasing Visnu by worship, the practice of Varnāśrama-dharma, the right way of receiving guests, the means of attaining final liberation, and the nature of Bhakti and its attainments. Consequently, Sūta proposed to speak out 'the extensive (bṛhat) Purāṇa named Nāradīya' (or, 'the Bṛhannārada Purāṇa')114 in which Nārada spoke to Sanatkumāra and which contained topics on Nārāyaṇa and was imbued with the Vedic ideas. He praised this work

Bnār. 1. 36 (purāņam nāradīyākhyam brhad vedārtha-sammitam), and 1.66 (... bṛḥannārada-nāmadheyam param purāṇam.....). In the ASB ed. the latter verse reads 'idam nārada-nāmadheyam' (for 'brhannārada-namadheyam').

in high terms as yielding all the ends of life and decried and condemned to hell those who found in the Purāṇas nothing but 'arthavāda'. 115 (-Chap. 1). Being asked as to how and where Nārada met Sanatkumāra and what the former spoke to the latter, Sūta said that once Sanatkumāra and the other sons of Brahmā went to the peak of the mountain Meru and prepared to take their holy bath in the Ganges known by the name of Sītā, when Nārada arrived there singing the names of Hari and eulogising the sacred river. Sanatkumāra praised Nārada as the best devotee of Hari and requested him to speak on a number of religious topics including the origin of the universe. In compliance with this request Nārada began by eulogising Hari with the mention of his ten incarnations including Rāma (the carrier of the ploughshare), Īśāna, and another not expressly named but appearing from his description to be none but Kalki. (-Chap. 2).

Thus the contents of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. have been introduced in chaps. 1-2. The remaining chapters deal with the following topics:

The process of origin of the universe from Mahāviṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) who assumes the forms of Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and Rudra by taking to the three Guṇas (Rajas, Sattva and Tamas respectively), and also appears as Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Kāla for the sake of creation. Description of Viṣṇu's Parā Sakti, which is differentiated into Vidyā and Avidyā and is said to permeate the whole world and to effect its creation, preservation and destruction. People's naming of this Sakti variously as Umā, Lakṣmī, Bhāratī, Girijā, Ambikā, Durgā, Bhadrakālī, Caṇḍī, Vaiṣṇavī, Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī etc. and as Māyā (or

nindāyām kalahe vāpi hy asantah pāpa-tatparāh//
purānesv arthavādatvam ye vadanti narādhamāh/
tair arjitāni punyāni tadvad eva bhavanti vai//
samasta-karma-nirmūla-sādhanāni narādhamah/
purānāny arthavādena śrutvā narakam aśnute//
yāvad brahmā srjaty etaj jagat sthāvara-jangamam/
tāvat sa pacyate pāpī narakāgnisu samtatam//
Also 1.61—

purāņeşu dvija-śreṣṭhāḥ sarva-dharma-pravaktṛṣu/ pravadanty arthavādatvam ye te naraka-bhājanāḥ// Mahāmāyā) for creating infatuation and as Prakṛti for effecting the origin of the universe.

Names of the seven upper worlds (Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ etc.) and the seven lower worlds (Atala, Vitala etc.). Geography of the earth; position of the mountains Meru and Lokaloka which bound the seven oceans and of which the former is situated at the middle of the earth and forms the resort of all the gods and the latter lies at the farthest end of land;116 division of the earth into seven continents (dvīpas, viz., Jambu, Plaksa etc.); names of the oceans surrounding these continents; relative position and extents of the continents and the oceans; position of Bharatavarsa, which is said to be lying on the north of the saltocean and on the south of the Himadri. Praise of Bharatavarsa as the best place for pious work and for Visnu-worship. (-Chap. 3).

Praise of faith (śraddhā) and devotion (bhakti), which form the basis of Dharma and ensure success in all enterprises. Eloquent praise of faithful observance of asramacara (customs enjoined by one's order of life), without which neither the Veda nor devotion to Hari or Maheśvara is of any avail to one. Benefits of association with good men, especially with the sincere devotees of the Bhagavat. (-Chap. 4).

Characteristics of the best Bhagavatas, who include those devoutly worshipping Siva, bearing the sectarian mark Tripundra, and putting on Rudrāksas. (-Chap. 5).

Glorification of the river Ganga, especially at Prayaga, where this sacred river meets the Yamuna, and at Varanasi.

Praise of reading and hearing the Puranas with devotion.

Mention of persons (including teachers and expounders of the Vedas and the Puranas) who are to be regarded as Gurus; classification and praise of Gurus. (-Chaps. 6 and 9).

Praise of bhumi-dana (11. 120st.). Qualifications of persons to

whom gifts should be made. (-Chap. 12).

Praise of various pious acts which please Visnu and Siva; providing Brahmins with means of livelihood; digging tanks, wells etc.; construc-

Ibid., 3. 44bhūtale madhyame meruh sarva-deva-samāśrayah/ lokālokaś ca bhūmy-ante tan-madhye sapta sāgarāḥ//, tion and preservation of temples meant for Viṣṇu or Siva; dedication of orchards, and of flower-gardens meant for the public or for deities¹¹⁷; plantation of Tulasi plants and making arrangements for their preservation; bathing of Viṣṇu or Siva with various articles and on different occasions; worship of these deities with various kinds of flowers and with the offer of different articles (including food materials); gift of cows, food, wealth, virgin girls (in marriage), books etc. to Brahmins; medical treatment of diseased persons, especially of Brahmins; rendering of various kinds of service to Viṣṇu or Siva, their temples, and to Brahmins; and so on. (-Chap. 13).

Names of hells, and description of terrible punishments undergone by the sinners there. Persons to be considered guilty of mahāpātakas, viz., Brahma-hatyā, surā-pāna, svarṇa-steya, etc. Enumeration of sins leading to different hells and deserving different kinds of punishment. (-Chap. 14).

Observance of devotional Vratas on Sukla-dvādašī and Paurņamāsī Tithis for a year by worshipping Viṣṇu under particular names in the different months from Mārgašīrṣa (Agrahāyaṇa) and bringing these Vratas to a conclusion after a year by worshipping Viṣṇu in Sarvato-bhadra Maṇḍalas on the full-moon days of the months of Mārgašīrṣa and Kārttika respectively. Performance of boma, keeping awake at night, and dance and music (both vocal and instrumental) form some of the most essential parts of these Vratas. (-Chaps. 16-17).

Description of other vows, viz., Dhvajāropaṇa-vrata (requiring the hoisting of a flag and the worship of the Sun, Garuda and the Moon as well), Hari-pañcaka-vrata (which is to be observed for five days from the Suklaikādaśī Tithi of every month from Mārgaśīrṣa), Māsopavāsa-vrata (i.e. the vow of observing fast for a month), and Ekādaśī-vrata (-Chaps. 18-21).

Elaborate treatment of Varṇāśrama-dharma (including śrāddha, prāyaścitta, and tithi-nirṇaya for the efficacy of the Srauta and the

sarva-lokopabhogārtham puṣpārāmam janeśvara/ kurvate devatārtham vā teṣām puṇya-phalam śṛṇu// Smarta rites), said to have been made in accordance with the prescriptions of Manu and others. (-Chaps. 22-28).

Description of the path of Yama (yama-mārga), which is said to be very pleasant for the virtuous but extremely dangerous and painful for the sinners. Nature of these pleasures and sufferings; and the poius acts (such as gift of various things including betel leaves, service to parents and others, reading of Puranas, and so on) which cause the pleasures. (-Chap. 29).

Account (in prose) of the course of rebirth of creatures, first as stationary objects of nature (such as trees, creepers, mountains, etc.) and then as worms, insects, beasts and human beings in succession. Gradual rise in caste, profession, and physical and financial condition of human beings in their successive births. Description of the course of development of the fôetus in the mother's womb. Painful experiences of a human being in the different stages of his life. (-Chap. 30).

Ways of attaining final liberation. - Distinction of yoga into Kriyā-yoga and Jñāna-yoga; detailed treatment of yoga, with the names of thirty kinds of asanas (modes of sitting for the practice of yoga); characteristics of persons to be regarded as sincerely desirous of final liberation. (-Chap. 31).

Praise of rendering devotional service to Visnu and his temples untiringly by body and mind or even unintentionally on rare occasions. (-Chaps. 32-37).

Names and extents of the four Yugas. Conduct of people in the different Yugas, especially in Kali. Praise of reading or hearing the Bṛhannāradīya-p. (-Chap. 38).

Besides the above contents the Brhannaradiya-p. has a number of stories, which include the following.

Mṛkaṇḍu's practice of severe austerities at Sālagrāma, and Mārkandeya's birth as his son and practice of the Bhāgavata-dharma at Sālagrāma according to Visnu's instructions. (-Chaps. 4-5).

Birth of Sagara in Aurva's hermitage, after the Haihayas and the Tālajanghas had dethroned his proud and jealous father Bāhu, son of Vrka, and administered poison to his mother with the intention of killing him in her womb and Aurva had consoled Sagara's mother and prevented her from burning herself to death 118 after Bahu's demise in the forest; Sagara's education, military or otherwise, from Aurva, and his crushing defeat of the Sakas, Yavanas and others, whom Vasistha saved from annihilation by Sagara by turning them extra-Vedic and compelling the Pārṣṇikas (Pārasīkas?) to shave off their heads, the Yavanas to have long hair, and the others to have shaven heads and long beards;119 Sagara's marriage with Keśini and Sumati, daughters of a king of the Kauśika family of Vidarbha; birth of Asamañjasa to Keśini and of sixty thousand sons to Sumati as a result of Aurva's boon; reproachable conduct of Asamañjasa and the other sons of Sagara, and the tyrannised gods' approach to Kapila for redress; birth of Amsumat to Asamañjasa; Sagara's performance of a Horse Sacrifice, and Kapila's reducing all the sons of Sagara to ashes for their misbehaviour to him for the sacrificial horse, which was kept in his hermitage by Indra; Amsumat's bringing the horse from Kapila's hermitage; birth of Dilīpa from Amsumat, of Bhagīratha from Dilīpa, and of Sudāsa in the family of Bhagīratha, Sudāsa's son being Saudāsa Mitrasaha.

Dharmarāja's instructions to Bhagīratha to rescue his burnt ancestors from hells by means of the waters of the Gangā; Bhagīratha's consequent worship of Viṣṇu in the Himalayas, and his bringing down the Gangā by propitiating Siva in accordance with the instructions

118 Among the verses said by Aurva to prevent Sagara's mother from self-immolation occurs the following one:

bālāpatyāś ca garbhiņyo hy adṛṣta-ṛtavas tathā/rajasvalā rāja-sute nārohanti citām śubhe// (7.65).

This verse has been quoted in Srīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (fol. 93b), Govindānanda's Suddhi-kaumudī (p. 83), and Raghunandana's Smṛtitattva (II, p. 236).

In his commentary (II. i, p. 59) on the Parāśara smṛti Mādhavācārya also quotes this verse but ascribes it to the 'Nāradīya-p.'

(This verse is the same as Nar. I. 7. 52).

119 Bnār. 8 39-

cakāra pārṣṇikān muṇḍān yavanān lamba-mūrdhajān/ anyāmś ca śmaśrulān muṇḍān anyān veda-bahiṣkṛtān// In the ASB ed. the word 'yavanān' has been spelt as 'javanān'. received from Bhrgu living on the bank of the Godavari. (-Chaps. 7-8 and 13-15).

Saudāsa Mitrasaha's turning a Rākṣasa for twelve years as a result of Vasistha's curse brought on him by a Rākṣasa who caused Saudāsa to offer human flesh to Vasistha by appearing first in the form of Vasistha and then in that of Saudasa's cook and thus took revenge for Saudasa's killing, during a hunting expedition in a forest on the bank of the Reva (Narmada), his female mate sporting with him in the form of a tigress. Saudāsa's having the name Kalmāṣapāda for throwing on his own feet the waters with which he was going to curse Vasistha for the mischief done by him. Saudasa's eating up of a Brahmin sage on the bank of the Narmada, and the latter's wife's curse to Saudasa to continue to be a Raksasa for long and to meet death, during sexual enjoyment. Saudāsa's curse to the Brahmin woman to be a Piśaci. Saudasa and the Brahmin woman's meeting with a Brahma-rākṣasa, who was formerly a Brahmin, named Somadatta, of Magadha; Saudāsa and others' regaining higher states of existence by coming in contact with the waters of the Ganga. (-Chap.9).

Aditi's austerities after the gods' defeat in a war¹²⁰ with Bali, and Visnu's birth to her as Vāmana and redemption of the kingdom of heaven for the gods. Origin of the Gangā from the waters with which

Vāmana's feet were washed by Bali. (-Chaps. 10-11).

Unconscious performance of the Dhvajāropaṇa-vrata by a reckless Sūdra named Mātali and a Niṣāda woman named Kokilinī, who, after death, passed to the region of Viṣṇu and were then reborn respectively as king Sumati of the Lunar race and his queen Satyamati. (-Chap. 18).

King Dharmakīrti's degradation by coming under the influence of the Pāṣaṇḍas, but his rebirth to sage Gālava as his extremely pious son by unconsciously performing the Ekādaśī-vrata. (-Chap. 21).

120 In describing this war the Bṛhannāradīya-p. names a large variety of missiles, which are as follows: Drughana, Bhindipāla, Khaḍga, Paraśu, Tomara, Parigha, Churikā, Daṇḍa, Cakra, Śaṅku, Muṣala, Aṅkuśa, Lāṅgala, Paṭṭiśa, Parigha, Śataghnī, Prāsa, Ayodaṇḍa, Muṣṭi, Śūla, Kuṭhāra, Pāśa, Kṣudra-Śakti, Upala, Śataghnī, Prāsa, Ayodaṇḍa, Muṣṭi, Śūla, Kuṭhāra, Pāśa, Kṣudra-yaṣṭi (or, Kṣudra and Yaṣṭi?), Bṛhacchara, Ayomukha, Tuṇḍa, Cakra-daṇḍa, Kṣudra-paṭṭiśa, Nārāca.—Bnār. 10. 23-27.

Devamāli's repentance after earning a large fortune by unlawful means, his spending half of his wealth in benevolent work, and his attainment of final liberation at Vārāṇasī by worshipping Viṣṇu according to the instructions of a sage named Jānanti. (-Chap. 33).

Sumāli's constant help to his reckless and licentious brother Yajñamāli, and his rescuing the latter from hellish tortures by offering

to him a part of his religious merit. (-Chap. 34).

The above contents of the Brhannaradiya-p. show that it is a Vaisnava work dealing exclusively with the praise and worship of Viṣṇu, who is very often named as Nārāyaṇa and sometimes also as Vāsudeva, Hari, Janārdana etc., but very rarely as Kṛṣṇa. 121 According to this work the highest deity in his supreme state is Mahāviṣṇu (very often called Nārāyaṇa), who is described as 'avyaya', 'ananta', 'sarvavyāpin', 'nirdvandva', 'nirmama', 'māyātīta', 'sadānandaika-vigraha', 'jñāna-svarūpa', 'jagac-caitanya-kāraṇa' and so on, 122 and said to be existing as one and many.123 It is he who assumes the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by taking to the three Guṇas and creates the universe by means of his Para Sakti (Supreme Active Power), which is differentiated into Vidya and Avidya, the former being the intellect (buddhi) that knows no distinction between the cognisor and the cognisable and makes one perceive the unity of all objects 124 and the latter making the universe appear as different from the god and causing miseries and rebirths.125 The Sakti of Visnu-Nārāyaṇa, which is also called Māyā or Mahāmāyā for creating infatuation of beings and Prakṛti for effecting the origin of the universe126 and is popularly

¹²¹ For this name (Kṛṣṇa) see Bnār. 2. 9, 11; 3.59; 15.71; 21. 73; 32.41.

¹²² Bnar. 3. 1, 25. 61-63, 29. 72-76, and so on.

¹²³ Ibid., 3. 27 - bhinnābhinna-svarūpeņa sthito vai parameśvarah.

lbid., 3. 8—jñātṛ-jñeyādy-upādhis tu yadā naśyati sattamāḥ/,
sarvaika-bhāvanā buddhiḥ sā vidyety abhidhīyate//.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 3. 7—yadā viśvam mahāviṣnor bhinnatvena pratīyate/
tadā hy avidyā saṃsiddhā tadā duḥkhasya sādhanī//
Also ibid., 3.9a—evaṃ māyā mahāviṣṇor bhinnā saṃsāra-dāyini.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 3. 28—yasya śaktir mahāmāyā jagad-viśrambha-kāriṇī/ viśvotpatti-nidānatvāt prakṛtiḥ procyate budhaiḥ// See also ibid. 3. 9a (quoted above) and 3. 15 (quoted below),

known by various names such as Umā, Lakṣmī, Bhāratī, Durgā etc., is all-pervading like the god himself;¹²⁷ and it is only by means of Yoga that one can perceive the identity of the god with his Māyā or Avidyā Sakti and thus get away from the latter, which is not unreal nor real nor both, resorts to the Indescribable (Being), and creates the sense of diversity of Paramātman.¹²⁸

The Brhannāradīya-p. recommends the painting of the sectarian mark Ūrdhvapaundra on all occasions (except Śrāddha according to some)¹²⁹ but severely denounces as extremely sinful and unfit for Śrauta and Śmārta rites those persons who mark their limbs with the figures of the Śankha (conch-shell), Cakra (disc) etc. or of the Linga (Phallus) created by the application of heat.¹³⁰ It prescribes the use and muttering of the great eight-syllabled Mantra 'om namo nārāyanāya'¹³¹ said to be eternally expressive of the god,¹³² praises Bhakti with its ten gradations,¹³³ speaks very highly of serving the god like a

Jbid., 3. 12-15—
yathā harir jagad-vyāpī tasya śaktis tathā mune/
dāha-śaktir yathāngāre svāśrayam vyāpya tiṣṭhati//
umeti kecid āhus tām śaktim lakṣmīti cāpare/
...
brāhmīti vidyāvidyeti māyeti ca tathāpare/
prakṛtiś ca parā ceti vadanti paramarṣayaḥ//

Ibid., 31. 69-71—
māyino māyayā bhedam paśyanti paramātmani/
tasmān māyām tyajed yogān mumukṣur vipra-sattamāḥ//
nāsad-rūpā na sad-rūpā māyā vai nobhayātmikā/
anirvācyāśritā jñeyā bheda-buddhi-pradāyinī//
māyaivājñāna-śabdena śabdyate muni-sattamāḥ/
tasmād ajñāna-vicchedo bhaved vigata-māyinām//

129 Ibid., 24. 44-45, which include the following line—ūrdhvapauṇḍraṃ ca tulasīṃ śrāddhe necchanti kecana.

130 Ibid., 14. 136-142.

131 Ibid., 15. 18, 21, 37-38; 17. 8; 38. 99.

132 Ibid., 15. 43—
vācyo nārāyaṇaḥ prokto mantras tad-vācakaḥ smṛtaḥ/
vācya-vācaka-saṃbandho nitya eva mahātmanaḥ//,

133 Viz., Tāmasādhamā, Tāmasa-madhyamā, Tāmasottamā, Rājasādhamā, Rājasa-madhyamā, Rājasottamā, Sāttvikādhamā, Sāttvika-madhyamā, Sāttvikottamā, and Uttamottamā (Bnār. 14. 195-207).

servant, 134 and lays special stress on avyabhicārinī bhakti (unswerving devotion), which arises from pious acts and forms the basis of jñāna yielding final liberation. 135 In its opinion, a Cāṇḍāla who is sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu is superior to a Brahmin, and a Brahmin having no devotion for Viṣṇu is worse than a Cāṇḍāla. 136 It contains a good number of hymns mostly in praise of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa 137 and speaks of innumerable incarnations of the god, of which only the following ten have been named: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Jāmadagnya, Rāma Dāśarathi, Rāma (Muṣalī, also called Nandasutāgraja), Iśāna and Kalki. 138

In its discourse on the way of attaining final liberation (mokṣa) in chap. 31 the Bṛhannāradīya-p. deals elaborately with Yoga consisting of Kriyā-yoga and Jñāna-yoga, of which the former requires the worship of all-pervading Viṣṇu in images, twice-born people, the earth, fire, sun, pictures etc. and forms the basis of the latter. As a matter of fact, worship of Viṣṇu in images forms the preliminary step to the realisation of the god and is meant for 'ignorant people, who always worship the Lord of the Universe in images of stone etc.' 140 It takes jñāna to be the same as buddhi purified by the total destruction of

¹³⁴ Bnar. 14. 204.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 1. 13; and 31. 27—
jñāna-labhyam param mokṣam prāhus tattvārtha-cintakāḥ/
tajjñānam bhakti-mūlam ca bhaktiḥ sat-karmajā tathā//

¹³⁶ Ibid., 32. 39, and 35. 12.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 2. 20-53; 4. 55-63; 4. 84-89; 5. 24-32; 11. 19-39, 71-79; 15. 57-64; 36. 3-38.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 2. 31-41. See also ibid., 11. 77-78 for some of the names.

yogas tu dvividhaḥ proktaḥ karma-jñāna-prabhedataḥ///
kriyā-yogaṃ vinā nṛṛṇāṃ jñāna-yogo na sidhyati//
kriyā-yoga-ratas tasmāc chraddhayā harim arcayet///
pratimā-dvija-bhūmy-agni-sūrya-citrādiṣudvijāḥ//
arcayeddharim eteṣu viṣṇuḥ sarva-gato yataḥ///

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 2. 48—ajñā yajanti viśveśam pāṣāṇādiṣu sarvadā/

sins by supreme faith (parā śraddhā)141 and extols Yoga saying that it is only the Yogins who acquire jñāna yielding mokṣa.142 authority of the Atharva-veda it distinguishes Atman (or Brahma) into Para and Apara, of which Para Atman is beyond the Gunas and Apara Ātman has Ahamkāra; and Yoga is said to be the perfect realisation of the unity of Para and Apara Atman. 143 As to the correct practice of Yoga it says:

> śanaih śanair vijetavyāh prāņā matta-gajendravat/ anyathā khalu jāyante mahāroga-bhayamkarāh// (31. 128).

"Like intoxicated lordly elephants the vital airs should be controlled by and by, otherwise they become dreadful by (creating) dangerous diseases."

Going to speak on devotional service to Visnu the Brhannaradiya-p. extols the sanctity and efficacy of the waters and mud of the Ganges144 and urges people to maintain the Tulasi plant in their houses, to salute and worship it with great devotion, 145 and to wear its wood and leaves on their ears.146 A very small particle of Ganges-water in which a Tulasī-leaf has been placed, is said to purify twenty-one generations (9. 133, 138); gift of land with Tulasi plants in it is highly praised (11. 127); and even Visnu is said to wear a 'Tulasīmālā' (31. 138).

- Ibid., 31. 29-30śraddhayā parayā caiva sarva-pāpam pranaśyati// sarva-pāpeșu nașteșu buddhir bhavati nirmalā/ saiva buddhih samākhyātā jñāna-śabdena sūribhih//
- 142 Ibid., 31. 31-jñānam ca mokṣadam prāhus tajjñānam yoginām bhavet.
- Ibid., 31. 57-58-143 ātmānam dvividham prāhuh parāpara-vibhedatah/ dve brahmanī veditavye iti cātharvanī śrutih// paras tu nirgunah prokto ahamkara-yuto 'parah/ tayor abheda-vijñānam yoga ity abhidhiyate//
- See ibid., chaps. 6, 9 and 37, especially 6. 30 (on the benefits of besmearing the head and body with the mud of the Ganges) and 14. 218-9 (on the benefits of throwing the hair, bones, nails, teeth or ashes of a deceased person into the waters of the sacred river).
 - Ibid., 6. 65; 11. 62; 23. 59-69; 14. 191; 37. 52-53; 37. 65; and so on 145
 - Ibid., 5. 53; 13. 65. 146

One of the striking features of the Bṛhannāradiya-p. is that it repeatedly praises Siva-worship and declares the unity of Siva and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. Among the best Bhāgavatas it includes those persons who love and worship Siva, constantly meditate upon him, mutter his five-syllabled Mantra (namaḥ śivāya), offer costly sacrifices to him as well as to Hari with great devotion, utter the names of these two deities, carry the sectarian mark Tripuṇḍra, and wear Rudrākṣas (5. 56-61). It gives out Siva to be a form of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa (15. 74) and regards as 'venerable that Brahmin who looks up, without any idea of distinction, to the Lord of gods (deveśa) consisting of Nārāyaṇa and Siva' (3. 63). Severely denouncing those who distinguish between these two gods it says:

"The Phallus (linga) assumes the form of Hari, and Hari bears the form of the Phallus. There is not the slightest difference (between them), (and) one who makes (any) distinction, acquires sin.

"(Only) the sinners merged in the ocean of nescience find distinction in the eternal god designated as Hari and Samkara.

"It is that imperishable god, the Lord of the worlds and the Cause of causes, who devours up the universe at the end of a Yuga by assuming the form of Rudra.

"Rudra protects the entire universe in the form of Viṣṇu; and Hari creates it by assuming the form of Brahmā and (then) devours it himself.

"The man who differentiates between Hari, Samkara and Brahmā, suffers in hell as long as the moon and stars exist.

"It is the decided opinion of the holy scriptures that one who looks upon Hara, Hari and Vidhātr as one, attains supreme bliss." 147

In Bṛhannāradīya-p. 14. 214-5 Dharmarāja (Kāla) says to king Bhagīratha, "Worship Hara and Viṣṇu, O king, by taking them to be one. The person who distinguishes (between them) becomes guilty of misdeeds of the magnitude of decades of thousands of Brahmin-murder. Siva is (the same as) this Hari in person, (and) it is Hari who is Siva himself. One who makes any distinction between them suffers in crotes of hells" (14. 214-215).

We have already seen how the Brhannaradiya-p. extols even a Cāṇḍāla who is sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and takes him to be superior to a Brahmin who is not so. But this attitude relates simply to religious fervour and does not mean that the Bṛhannāradīya-p. has no respect for the Vedas and the Vedic views of life and conduct. On the other hand, it prescribes the study of the Vedas to the members of the higher three castes (22. 20, 23-25), declares these works to be as much superior to other scriptures as Kesava is to the other gods (32.9), repeatedly identifies them with Visnu-Nārāyaṇa, takes Dharma to be rooted in them (4. 17, 27. 64), and urges people to practise, for the satisfaction of Nārāyaṇa, the duties enjoined by these sacred works (3. 80, 27. 64). It includes among the superiors (guravah) those people who study the Vedas and correctly explain their meanings to others, and assigns to them the foremost position among those who are specially venerable (9. 89-90, 98). In its opinion, a teacher of the Vedas is to be saluted first of all (23.35), and one becomes a Sūdra and goes to hell by studying scriptures excluding the Vedas (23. 66). It regards Gāyatrī as destructive of all sins and as the mother of the Vedas (6. 61-65), severely denounces those who hate or sell these works, 149 and advises people not to invite under any circumstances in a Śrāddha ceremony a Brahmin who is 'bereft of the Vedas' (26. 35).

It is very natural that with its high regard for the Vedas the Brhannāradīya-p. should extol 'Smṛti' which records Dharma rooted in the Vedas. As a matter of fact, it urges people to follow their own Gṛḥya-sūtras in kindling fire (agnyādhāna) and performing homa and other Gṛḥya rites including the sacraments (22. 10a, 26.50ff., 23.9), encourages them to practise Dharma as declared in the Smṛtis (24.46), looks upon the sellers of these works as great sinners like those of the Vedas (12.9), and prescribes the observance of Vratas and other religious rites on Tithis determined in accordance with the directions of the Smṛtis (27.63). It firmly believes in caste-system, knows the distinction between the various castes and subcastes, and fully recognises the supremacy of Brahmins in society. It warns with residence in hell

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 4. 17, 23. 68, and so on.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 4. 17; 12. 4-5, 8-9; 14. 49.

those who take, enhance or collect the revenue of a village belonging to a Brahmin and all those who support others in doing so (14. 122-124). In its account of the gradual improvement attained by creatures in their successive births it mentions the following castes, of which each succeeding one is taken to be superior to that immediately preceding it:

Carmakāra, Caṇḍāla, Vyādha, Rajaka, Kumbhakāra, Lohakāra, Suvarṇakāra, Tantravāya, Vaṇik, Sikhājaṭa (?), Dhāvaka, Lekhaka,

Bhṛtaka, Śāsanahārin (30. 2).

It assigns the Sūdras and women to a very low position in the social fabric. About these important members of the Hindu society it says:

"A twice-born man who, being invited by a Sūdra, takes his meal, is known as a drinker of wine and thrown outside (the pale of) all

(Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma (14. 39).

"Or, a twice-born man who, being asked by a Sūdra, takes his meal, is known as a drinker of wine and deprived (of the right of performing) all (Srauta and Smārta) work (14. 40).

"A man who bows down to a Linga or (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by a Śūdra, has no escape (from sin) even by (practising) decades of thousands of penances (14. 54).

"One who salutes a Linga or (an image of) Hari touched by a Sūdra, undergoes all (kinds of) suffering till the moon and the stars exist (14. 55).

"By saluting a Linga worshipped by an Abhīra one goes to hell, O king, even though one may be versed in the Vedas or know the meanings of all Sāstras (14. 56b-57).

"One who salutes a Linga or even (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by women, lives in Raurava (hell) with a crore of his generations up to the end of a kalpa (14.58).

"A Sūdra or women must not touch a Linga from the time it is established according to (the right) procedure by those versed in the mantras (14.59).

"Neither women nor those invested with the sacred thread, nor the Sūdras, O lord of men, have the right of touching (an image of) Visnu or Samkara (14. 60).

"A man who salutes a Linga or (an image of) Viṣṇu consecrated by a Śūdra, meets with endless miseries in this very world, not to speak of the next one (14.62).

"One who salutes a Linga or (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by an Ābhīra, meets with destruction, O lord of men. What is the good of speaking anything more? (14. 63).

"By touching (an image of) Keśava or Siva a Sūdra, one not invested with the sacred thread, women, and a 'fallen' man (patita) suffer in hell (14.64).

"There is no atonement for those who ... have association with Sūdra women, (and) nourish their body with food received from Sūdras, ... (14. 66-67).

"A man who reads the Vedas in the proximity of women and Sūdras, goes to hells successively during thousands of crores of kalpas" (14. 144).

The Brhannāradīya-p. warns students against having any contact with Sūdras (23. 32); and in connection with one's profession in distress it says;

"Even in dire distress a twice-born man must not take to the profession of Sūdras. If an infatuated twice-born man does so, he is looked upon as a Cāṇḍāla.

"Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas (viṣaḥ) are well-known as 'twice-born' people. And they have four stages of life, there being no fifth' (23. 31-32).

From the above statements about the Sūdras and women it appears that these members of the Hindu society were seriously influenced by the ideas and practices of the extra-Vedic sectaries, especially the Buddhists and the Tantriks. As a matter of fact, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. amply testifies to the great spread of Buddhism and Tantricism, which threatened the very basis of the Varṇāśramadharma of the Vedas. It

uses the name 'Pāṣaṇḍa' for the Buddhists and the Tantriks and defines it saying:

"As the Bauddhas decry the Vedas, they are called Paṣaṇḍins"

(14. 70),

"Those who have ceased to perform the sacrifices to the gods and Pitrs and strayed from the Vedic way (of life), are well-known as Pāṣaṇḍas and undergo a multitude of sufferings" (14. 186),

"A Pasanda is so called by the wise on account of his forsaking

the duties of his own caste" (22. 9),

"One who, after forsaking his own (lawful) work, takes to the work of others, is known as a Pāṣaṇḍa and thrown outside (the pale of) all (Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma" (23. 2), and

"That cunning twice-born mortal, who does not perform Samdhyā (i.e. the morning, noon and evening prayer) in times when there is no calamity, is known as a Pāṣaṇḍa and placed outside all (Śrauta and Smārta) work" (25. 29).

That in the above passages the name Pāṣaṇḍa was applied for the Tantriks also is shown by the mention at several places of the worship of the Linga or the images of Viṣṇu and Siva by the Pāṣaṇḍas. For instance, in chap. 14 the Bṛhannāradīya-p. says that 'by saluting a Linga worshipped by the Pāṣaṇḍas one is reduced to the state of a Pāṣaṇḍa even though he may be versed in the Vedas and know the meanings of all Sāstras' (verse 56), and that '(a twice-born man) must not worship even in dream (an image of) Viṣṇu or Saṃkara (which has been) worshipped by those who have forsaken the customs and usages (ācāra) of their own orders of life' (verse 61). As these extra-Vedic sectaries did not follow the Vedic way of life and disproved the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices by puzzling argumentation, and as association with them made others acquire their habits (21.53-55), the Bṛhannāradīya-p. repeatedly warns people against talking, ¹⁵⁰ or having any other kind of contact, with them. It says:

"One who enters the house of a Bauddha even in great distress, has no escape (from sin) even by (practising) hundreds of penances.

"The Bauddhas are called Paṣaṇdins, because they decry the Vedas.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 17. 20 (pāṣaṇḍālāpa-varjitaḥ).

So, a twice-born man, if he has (any) regard for the Vedas, must not look at them.

"(One acquires sin), in case one enters the house of a Bauddha knowingly or unknowingly. There is no escape (from sin), (if one does so) knowingly. This is the decision of Sastras". (14. 69-71).

Going to deal with the duties (dharma) of the different castes and orders of life 'as prescribed by Manu and others' (manvādyaiś coditam ca yat—22. 6), the Bṛhannāradīya-p. encourages the due performance of Yuga-dharmas by all the castes¹⁵¹ but names a number of lawful practices which, being considered unfavourable for the attainment of heaven and disliked by the people, have been forbidden by wise men in the Kali age. These practices have been mentioned in the following verses:

"karmaṇā manasā vācā yatnād dharmān samācaret/, asvargyaṃ loka-vidviṣṭaṃ dharmam apy ācaren na tu// samudra-yātrā-svīkāraḥ kamaṇḍalu-vidhāraṇam/ dvijānām asavarṇāsu kanyāsūpayamas tathā// devareṇa sutotpattir madhuparke paśor vadhaḥ/, māṃsa-dānaṃ tathā śrāddhe vānaprasthāśramas tathā// dattākṣatāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ punar-dānaṃ parasya ca/ dīrgha-kālaṃ brahmacaryaṃ naramedhāśvamedhakau// mahāprasthāna-gamanaṃ gomedhaṃ ca tathā makham/, imān dharmān kali-yuge varjyān āhur manīṣiṇaḥ//" (22.12-16).

"One should carefully practise dharma (lawful duty) by work, mind and word, but one should not perform an act which, though legal, is unfavourable for (the attainment of) heaven and is disliked by the people.

"Undertaking of sea voyage; carrying of a kamaṇḍalu; marriage

of twice-born people with girls of other castes.

"Raising of issue by the husband's brother; killing of an animal in Madhuparka; offering of meat in Srāddha; the stage of a forest-hermit.

"Offering again (in marriage), to another (bridegroom), of a married

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 22. 11a—yuga-dharmāḥ parigrāhyā varņair etair yathocitam.

girl whose marriage was not consummated; celibacy (i.e. studentship) for a long period; (performance of) human sacrifice and horse sacrifice.

"Starting on a great journey; and cow sacrifice.—These lawful acts

have been declared by the wise as forbidden in the Kali age."

As to the Ācāras (customs and usages) deserving practice, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. attaches much importance to those enjoined by one's caste and order of life and decries wilful negligence of these. saying:

"One who gives himself up to devotion to Hari without transgressing one's own ācāra, goes to the abode of Viṣṇu which is seen

by gods.

"O powerful sage, one who, while performing the duties declared by the Vedas and required by one's own order of life, engages himself in meditation on Hari, attains final beatitude.

"Dharma arises from ācāra, and Acyuta is the lord of Dharma. Being worshipped by one who is engaged in (the practice of) ācāra enjoined by one's stage of life Hari gives everything.

"He who, though being a master of Vedanta together with the Angas, falls from his own ācāra, is known as 'patita' (fallen from his caste), because he is outside (the pale of Srauta and Smārta) work.

"He who deviates from ācāra enjoined by his own order of life, is said to be 'patita', no matter whether he is given to devotion to Hari or engaged in meditation on him.

"O best of the twice-born, neither the Veda nor devotion to Hari or Mahesvara purifies that fool who has fallen from ācāra.

"Neither visit to holy places, O Brahman, nor residence in sacred Tīrthas, nor performance of various sacrifices saves one who has discarded ācāra.

"Heaven is attained by (the practice of) ācāra, happiness is attained by (the practice of) ācāra, and final release is attained by (the practice of) ācāra. What is not attained by (the practice of) ācāra?" 152

The Brhannaradiya-p. further adds:

"Visnu is not satisfied with one who sticks only to Bhakti after

152 Ibid., 4. 20-27.

giving up (all religious) works, because he is to be worshipped with

"In all sacred scriptures acara has the first consideration. Dharma arises from ācāra, (and) Acyuta is the lord of Dharma.

"Hence such devotion to Hari is to be practised as does not go against one's own Dharma. Dharma and Artha do not yield happiness to those who do not follow sadācāra (practice of good men)."153

Feeling that faithful practice of ācāra may not be possible for all under all circumstances this work says:

> "sva-grāme pūrņam ācāram pathy ardham muni-sattamāḥ / āture niyamo nāsti mahāpadi tathaiva ca //i' (25. 16).

"Complete ācāra (is to be practised) in (one's) own village, half (of the same) on the way (during a journey), O best of sages, and there is no rule in times of illness as well as in great distress."

But it does not attach the same importance to all kinds of ācāra. It recommends 'vrddhācāra' (practice of old men) as acceptable (vrddhācārah parigrāhyah—24. 45) and says that 'grāmācāra' (peculiar practices of villages) may be followed without going against the prescriptions of Smrtis.154 As regards 'deśācāra' (i. e. the peculiar practices of different countries) this work says:

> "deśācārāḥ parigrāhyās tat-tad-deśīyajair naraiḥ/ anyathā patito jñeyaḥ sarva-dharma-bahiṣkṛtaḥ//" (22. 17).

"The (peculiar) practices of (different) countries should be followed by the people born in those particular countries. Otherwise, one is known as 'fallen' (patita) and externed from all (Srauta and Smarta) Dharma."

Among the peculiar customs then prevailing in the Hindu society the Brhannaradiya-p. mentions the following: difference of opinion as regards right for upanayana (investiture with the sacred thread) of the Kundas, Golakas, idiots and others, or of their sons; 155 a

Ibid., 14. 209-211. Ibid., 22, 11—grāmācāras tathā grāhyaḥ smṛti-mārgāvirodhataḥ. 153

¹⁵⁴

Ibid., 23. 65—kuṇḍa-golakayoḥ kecij jaḍādinām ca sattamāḥ/ vadanti copanayanam tat-putreșu ca kecana// 155

householder's wearing of two sacrificial threads with an upper garment, 156 two golden ear-ornaments (called kundala), a turban (uṣṇṣa), and footwears of wood and leather (pāduke cāpy upānahau); 157 prohibition to a householder against wearing a single piece of cloth and keeping his hair loose during worship, ācamana, bath, etc. (24. 25), against riding camels or cars drawn by these animals (24. 26), against touching the shade of a lamp, a beadstead, and one's body, and also a piece of cloth used for tying the hair, and dusts of goats and cats, 158 and against passing by a cow, a horse, an assembly, a crossway and a temple by keeping them to the left; 159 covering the earth with grass and carrying in hand a piece of wood at the time of passing stool or making water (25.4); and so on.

As to the position of certain members of the Hindu society the Brhannaradiya-p. gives us interesting information. According to this work the following persons were looked down upon for their profession: a Nakṣatra-pāṭhaka (also called Nakṣatra-pāṭha-jīvin), i.e. one studying the stars; a Devalaka (temple-priest); a Grāma-yājaka (one serving as a priest for a village); a Loka-yājaka (public priest); a Bhisak or Bhisak-śāstropajīvin (physician); a Gāyaka (singer); and a Kavya-kartr (composer of poems). About these persons the Bṛhannāradīya-p. makes the following statements: A gift made to a Nakṣatra-pāṭhaka becomes futile (12.6), and he does not deserve salutation (23.38) or invitation in a Sraddha ceremony (26.11); taking of food offered by a Devalaka is equal to the drinking of wine (14.38); a Grāma-yājaka does not deserve salutation (23.37) or invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.12); the Brhannāradīya-p. should not be read to a Loka-yajaka (1.48); one should bathe with one's garments at the sight of a Bhisak (24.30); and a Gayaka, a Kāvya-kartṛ and a Bhiṣak-śāstropajīvin should not be invited in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.17).

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 24. 19—yajñopavita-dvitayam sottarīyam ca dhārayet.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 24. 20-22.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 24. 32—dīpa-khaṭvā-tanu-cchāyā keśa-vastraṃ ghaṭodakam/ āja-mārjāra-reṇuś ca hanti puṇyaṃ purā-kṛṭam//

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 24. 35—gām aśvam ca sabhām caiva tathaiva ca catuṣpatham/,
devatāyatanam caiva nāpasavyam vrajed dvijaḥ//

In connection with penance (prāyaścitta) treated of in chap. 28 the Brhannāradīya-p. names three varieties of wine (surā)—gaudī, mādhvī and paiṣṭī (28.25) and eleven varieties of liquor (madya), viz., tāla, pānasa, drākṣa, kharjura-saṃbhava, mādhūka, śaila, āviṣṭa, maireya, nārikelaja, gaudī and mādhvī (28.32-33). It declares all kinds of wine as untouchable and undrinkable to the members of the four castes, both male and female, and says that by taking wine (surā) as medicine for curing a disease one has to undergo two courses of Candrayana and to be invested with the sacred thread again (28.30), that food coming in contact with wine, water kept in a jar which contained wine, and articles of food soaked with wine, are to be considered as equal to wine itself (28.31), and that one guilty of adultery with the Sūdra wife of one's teacher (guru), must practise the Prājāpatya Vrata for three years (28.68). Like the Pāñcarātra Samhitas, the Brhannaradiya-p. prescribes the performance of Prāṇāyāma or the muttering of the Gāyatrī as atonement for sin caused by certain acts, viz., stealing of small quantities of gold (of the weights of a trasarenu, a niska, a rajasarsapa, a gosarsapa, and a yava),160 touching of certain persons (viz., a woman in her monthly courses, a Cāṇḍāla, one guilty of a Mahāpātaka or heinous crime, a recently delivered woman, an outcast, and such washermen and others as have not washed their hands and mouths after taking food),161 and hearing their voice in the course of a Vrata, etc. (28.92). According to this work the weight of a suvarna is as follows: 8 trasareņus = 1 niṣka, 3 niṣkas = 1 rājasarṣapa, 3 rājasarṣapas = 1 gosarsapa, 6 gosarsapas = 1 yava, 3 yavas = 1 kṛṣṇala, 5 kṛṣṇalas = 1 māṣa, 16 māṣas = 1 suvarṇa. 162

In describing Yuga-dharma in chap. 38 the Brhannaradīya-p. says that no division of the Veda was made in the Kṛta-yuga (38. 8), that Nārāyaṇa was white in the Kṛta-yuga, red in Tretā, yellow in Dvāpara, and black in Kali,163 and that the Veda was divided in the

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 28, 47-50.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 28. 87-88.

^{.....162} Ibid., 28. 36-39.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 38. 13, 14, 16 and 21.

Dvapara age (38. 17). As regards the conduct of the people of the Kali age this work makes, in the forms of prophecies, a number of interesting statements, some of which are as follows:

"sarit-tīre baddha-hālair vāpayisyanti causadhīh/ alpam alpam phalam tāsām bhaviṣyati kalau yuge//, na vratāni cariṣyanti brāhmaṇā veda-nindakāḥ/ na yakṣyanti na hoṣyanti hetu-vādair vināśitāh// na kasyacid abhimato viṣṇu-bhakti-paras tathā/ deva-pūjā-parān dṛṣṭvā upahāsam prakurvate// kaleh prathama-pade 'pi vinindanti harim narah/ yugānte 'pi harer nāma naiva kaścit smarisyati / / kuhakair aksarais tatra hetu-vada-visaradaih/ pāṣaṇdino bhaviṣyanti cāturāśramya-nindakāh// na ca dvijāti-śuśrūṣām na sva-dharma-pravartanam/ karisyanti tadā śūdrāh pravrajyā-lingino 'dhamāh// śūdrā dharmān pravaksyanti kūta-yukti-viśāradāh// aśauca-yukta-matayah para-pakvānna-bhojinah/ bhavisyanti durātmānah śūdrāh pravrajitās tathā// utkoca-jīvinas164 tatra mahāpāpa-ratās tathā/ bhavisyanty atha pāṣaṇḍāḥ kāpālā bhikṣavas tathā // dharma-vidhvamsa-śīlānām dvijānām vipra-sattamāh/ (śūdrā dharmān pravakṣyanti pravrajyā-linga-dhārinah//)165 ete canye ca bahavah paṣanda vipra-sattamah/ brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā bhaviṣyanti kalau yuge// gīta-vādya-parā viprā veda-deva-parānmukhāh/ bhavişyanti kalau prāpte śūdra-mārga-pravartinah//

165 This line (śūdrā dharmān pravakṣyanti etc.) occurs not in the Vanga. ed, but in the ASB ed, of the Brhannāradīya-p.

¹⁶⁴ In the Visnudharma (chap. 105) there is mention of 'Utkocas' (or Utkaucas) as a class of heretics. See pp. 149 and 150 above.

viśvāsa-hīnāh piśunā veda-deva-dvijātiṣu/ asaṃskṛtokti-vaktāro bahu-dveṣa-ratās tathā// bhaviṣyanti kalau prāpte rājāno mleccha-jātayaḥ//, veda-nindā-parāś caiva dharma-śāstra-vinindakāḥ/ śūdra-vṛttyā ca jīvanti dvijā naraka-bhāginaḥ// nagareșu ca grāmeșu prākāreșv adhikā janāh/ caurādi-bhaya-bhītāś ca kāṣṭha-yantrāṇi kurvate// durbhikṣa-kara-pīḍādhir atīvopadrutā janāḥ/ godhūmāḍhyaṃ yavānnāḍhyaṃ deśaṃ yāsyanti duḥkhitāḥ// pāpa-jālena niratāḥ (niyatāḥ?) pāṣaṇḍa-jana-saṅginah/, yadā dvijā bhavisyanti tadā vrddhim gatah kalih//"166 "(People) will cause (men) with set ploughs (baddha-hāla) to sow herbs on the banks of rivers, but the output of those (herbs) will be very scanty in the Kali age (38. 43). "The Brahmins, denouncing the Vedas, will not observe (any) vows, nor, being spoiled by (heretical) reasonings, will they perform any sacrifice or homa (38. 46). "A person sincerely devoted to Visnu will not be liked by any one,

and people will ridicule (the devotees of Visnu,) finding (them) given to the worship of the god (38. 49c-50a).

"Even during the first quarter of the Kali age people will decry Hari, and at its end also none will remember his name (38. 52).

"Being influenced by the roguish experts in (heretical) dialectics with (promises of) final beatitude people will become Pasandins and decry the four stages of life (38. 54).

166 Bnār. 38, 43, 46, 49h-50a, 52, 54-61, 64, 74b, 79, 85-87, 91.

"At that time the vile Sūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will not serve the twice-born people, nor will they practise their own dharma (38.55).

"The Sūdras, skilled in puzzling argumentation, will instruct

dharma (38. 56).

"The wicked Sūdras will have unholy mental tendencies, turn wandering mendicants, and subsist on food prepared by others (38.57).

"Living on bribe and being given to heinous crimes they will

become Pāṣaṇḍas, Kāpālas and Bhikṣus (38. 58).

"O best of Brahmins, the Sūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will instruct dharma to the twice-born men habituated to its destruction (38.59).

"In the Kali age, O best of Brahmins, these and many other

Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas will become Pāṣaṇḍas (38. 60).

"After the Kali age comes up, the Brahmins given to song and instrumental music but averse to the Vedas and the gods, will set themselves to the path of the Sūdras (38. 61).

"(They will become) faithless and slanderous about the Vedas, gods and twice-born (men), utter unrefined speech, and be engaged in hostility with many (people) (38. 64).

"After the Kali age comes up, persons belonging to the Mleccha tribes will become kings (38. 74b).

"Being given to the denouncement of the Vedas and decrying the Dharma-śāstras, the twice-born (people) will live by (following) the profession of the Sūdras deserving residence in hells (38. 79).

"Being afraid of theives etc. the majority of people in cities and villages will set machines of wood in walls (or ramparts) (38. 86).

"Being very much affected by the sufferings caused by famine and taxation people will feel distressed and migrate to countries rich in wheat and barley-food (38.87).

"When, being bound by a multitude of sins, the twice-born people will associate with the extra-Vedic people (pāṣaṇḍa-jana), then Kali will grow (in power) (38. 91)."

From the above statements it is evident that at the time when the Bṛhannāradīya-p. was composed there was a great spread of the extra-Vedic faiths, especially Buddhism and Tantricism, which seriously affected the social discipline required for the Dharma rooted in the Vedas.

Following the Bhagavad-gītā the Bṛhannāradīya-p. (3.78ff.) encourages selfless work, which is to be done only for the satisfaction of Viṣṇu and not with a desire for the reward. It advises people to work untiringly and to dedicate all their actions to Viṣṇu in case they desire to enjoy their fruits in the next world (3.77). Like many other Purāṇas this work has a pessimistic view of life and takes the body to be 'rooted in sin' and 'engaged in doing sinful acts' (31.6). In chap. 29 it gives an account of the sufferings of the sinners in the path of Yama and describes Citra-gupta, an officer of Yama, thus:

"pralayāmbudhi-nirghoṣaḥ añjanādri-sama-prabhaḥ/vidyut-prabhāyudhair bhīmo dvāviṃśad-bhuja-saṃyutaḥ//jyojana-traya-vistāro raktākṣo dīrgha-nāsikaḥ/daṃṣṭrā-karāla-vadano vāpī-tulya-vilocanaḥ//mṛṭyu-jvarādibhir yuktaś citragupto vibhīṣaṇaḥ/" (29.50-52a).

"Having a thundering voice like the roar of the ocean at the dissolution (of the universe), possessing splendour like that of a mountain of collyrium, looking dreadful with weapons shining like lightning, and having twenty-two hands, an extent of three yojanas, red and well-like eyes, a long nose, and a mouth made dreadful by large teeth, Citragupta, attended by Death, Fever and others, looks extremely terrible."

We shall now discuss the date of composition of the present Brhannaradiya-p.

From the analysis of the contents of this work given above it is evident that it is a purely sectarian work lacking all the characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa. Its title 'Bṛhannārada' or 'Bṛhannāradīya', occurring

in the body of the chapters¹⁶⁷ as well as in the colophons, indicates that it is not the original Nāradīya-p., the words 'bṛhat,' 'vṛddha' etc. being found to be prefixed to the titles of comparatively late works only. As the present Nāradīya-p. incorporates all the chapters of the Bṛhannāradīya, ¹⁶⁸ we cannot agree with Winternitz in holding that the Bṛhannāradīya-p. 'is generally so called to distinguish it from the Nārada - or Nāradīya - Upapurāṇa'. ¹⁶⁹ That this work is merely an Upapurāṇa and not the same as the genuine Nāradīya-p., is shown definitely by the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-p., of which the first describes the Nāradīya-p. as follows:

"yatrāha nārado dharmān bṛhat-kalpāśrayāṇi ca/ pañcaviṃśat-sahasrāṇi nāradīyaṃ tad ucyate//" (Mat. 53.23)

"That (Purāṇa,) in which Nārada proclaims the (religious) duties as well as (other matters) connected with the Bṛhat Kalpa and (which contains) 25000 (verses), is called Nāradīya".

167 See Bnār. 1. 36 and 66, and 38. 132. See also foot-note 114 above.

168 The chapters of the Brhannāradīya-p., as occurring in the Nāradiya-p.,

are as follows:

Brhannāradīya-p., Nāradiya-p., Brhannarādīya-p., Nāradiya-p., chaps. 1-11 =chaps. 1-11. chaps. 14-17 =chaps. 15-18. 12. I-12 -cf. 12, 1-28. 18. 1-50 =chap. 19. 13. 1-5 18. 51-131 20. 3-86. 13.6-39 = 12, 29-58. chaps. 19-24 =chaps. 21-26. chap.25(except) = chap. 27 (except = 12. 59-98 (on the story verses 24-26) } verses 23h-65a on of king Virabhadra of snāna and samdhyā Gaudadeśa, whose miwith the perfornister Buddhisāgara mance of nyāsa). excavated a dried up chaps. 26-34 =chaps. 28-36. tank). =chap. 37. 35. 1-70 13. 40-212 =chap. 13. 35. 71-129 = ,, 38. =chap, 14 (on occasions chaps. 36-37 =chaps. 39-40. for impurity, and the 38, 1-126 (ex-) = chap. 41 (esperequisite penances for cept verses cially except verses purification). 127-149)

169 Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 557.

The Skanda (VII. i.2.43) and the Agni-p. (272.8), which do not differ materially from the Matsya in laying down the characteristics of the Nāradīya-p., describe this work thus:

> "yatrāha nārado dharmān bṛhat-kalpāśrayāms tv iha (Agni-p.-brhat-kalpāśritān iha)/ pañcavimśat-sahasrāṇi (Agni-p.—pañcavimśa-sahasrāṇi) nāradīyam tad ucyate//"

"That (Purāṇa,) in which Nārada proclaims such (religious) duties in this world as were connected with the Brhat Kalpa and (which contains) 25000 (verses), is called Nāradīya".

From these descriptions it is evident that the Nāradīya-p., as known to the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-p., had Nārada as the principal speaker, described the (religious) duties connected with the Brhat Kalpa, and contained 25000 verses. But in the Brhannaradiya-p., though Nārada is said to have spoken to Sanatkumāra on various kinds of (religious) duties, there is no mention of the Brhat Kalpa, and the number of verses is only about 3600. Moreover, the Ekamra-p. and the Brhaddharma-p. clearly distinguish the Brhannaradiya from the Nāradīya-p., naming both of them side by side in their lists of Upapuranas;170 and the manner in which the Smrti-writers refer to and quote verses from this Upapurana as well as from the Naradiya, shows that it was known to them under the title Brhannaradiya-p. and not as Nāradīya. So, there is little scope for doubt that our Bṛhannāradīya is an Upapurāṇa quite distinct from the Nāradīya-p.

This work names the Rāśis (zodiacal signs) and the week-days on more occasions than one,171 and betrays its knowledge of the Mārkandeya-p. in the following verse:

> "ārādhito jagannātho mārkaņdeyena dhīmatā/ purāņa-samhitām kartum dattavān varam acyutah//" (5.4).

170 For these lists see Chap. I (pp. 13 and 10) above.

171 For the names of the Rāśis see Bnār. 6.31, 6. 39, and 27, 22-25, and for those of the week-days see ibid., 13, 80, 88, 89 and 91 (Bhānu-vāra, Somavāra, Indu-vāra).

No work preceding the Yājñavalkya-smṛti betrays any knowledge of the

"Being propitiated by the wise Mārkandeya, Acyuta, the lord of the world, granted (him) a boon to compile a Purana-samhitā".

A comparison of the description of the conduct of the people and the activities of the Pāṣaṇḍas in the Kali age, as given in Bṛhannāradīya-p., chap. 38, with that occurring in Visnudharma, chap. 105, shows that the account of the former work is clearly based on that of the latter, from which it derives a good number of peculiar verses. 172 It is cognisant of Visnu's Sakti and says that this Sakti permeates the whole world and effects its creation, preservation and destruction, and that she is identical with Uma, Laksmi, Durga and others and also with Prakṛti and Māyā (or Mahāmāyā) which subjects all creatures to rebirths. Thus, the Bṛhannāradīya-p. records a developed Sakti theory, which points to a date posterior to that of the Jayakhyasamhita123 and not earlier than about 550 A.D. By its statements that even Ajāmila, a sinner and drunkard, earned freedom from sins and attained the highest region by simply uttering the name 'Nārāyaṇa'174 (which was given to his youngest son) and that the great elephant (gajendra) got free from the clutch of the crocodile by praising the god Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa,175 the Bṛhannāradīya-p. clearly

Rāśis, which, therefore, appear to have been unknown ro the Indians down to the beginning of the second century A.D.

The earliest dated mention of a week-day has been traced in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D. (See Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89).

172 See, for instance, Bnār. 38. 52, 54-58, 64b, etc., for which, as occurring in the Viṣṇudharma, see foot-note 108 on pp. 149-150 above.

We have already seen that the date of composition of the Visnudharma is to be placed between 200 and 300 A.D. (See p. 143 above).

173 This Samhitā is dated about 450 A.D., and in it Lakṣmī, Jayā, Kīrti and Māyā are called Viṣṇu's Sakti but are not said to play any part in creation.

surāparo 'pi yannāma kirtayitvā hy ajāmilaḥ/
prapede paramaṃ sthānaṃ //,
Also 11. 29—
ajāmilo 'pi pāpātmā yan-nāmoccāraṇoddhṛtaḥ/,
prāptavān paramaṃ dhāma ... //

175 Ibid., 2. 28—yan-nāma-samkirtanato gajendro grāhogra-bandhān mumuce sa eva/, ///

refers to Bhagavata-p. VI. 1-2 and VIII.2-4 respectively. It knows Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya and Bhatti's Rāvaņa-vadha (alias Bhatti-kāvya), some of the expressions of which it imitates here and there. 176 It derives a complete verse¹⁷⁷ from Bhartrhari's Nīti-śataka and composes two others 178 in imitation of a verse of his Vairagya-śataka. It speaks very highly of the Tulasi plant and, unlike other early works, deifies it and inculcates its worship. So, this Upapurana cannot be dated earlier than about the last quarter of the seventh century A. D. The doctrine of nonduality and illusion, summarily referred to in Bnar. 31. 57ff., shows that it could not have been written much earlier than Samkarācārya.

Again, a Ms of the Brhannāradīya-p., lying in the Dacca Univercity Library, is dated Saka 1578 (= 1656 A.D.);179 another, preserved in the Durbar Library, Nepal, bears the date La.-Sam.425 (= 1544 A.D.);180 and a third, kept in the India Office Library, London, is dated 1535 A. D.181 The Text of this work, as preserved in these

176 Compare, for instance, Bnar. 18. 108 (samyag-viveka-śūnyatvam āpadām hi padam mahat) and 32. 29 (vapur vināśa-nilayam āpadām paramam padam) with Kirātārjuniya 2. 30 (avivekah param āpadām padam) and 11.12-13 respectively, and Bnar. 7. 9-10 (iyāja so 'śvamedhan vai /. atarpayat ... // aramsta nīti-śāstresu vyajesta paripanthinah/ mene kṛtārtham ātmānam ... //) with Rāvaṇa-vadha 1.2 (so 'dhyaista vedāms tridaśan ayasta pitren atarpsit samamamsta bandhun/ vyajesta sadvargam aramsta nītau samūlaghātam nyavadhīd arīms ca//)

Bnār, 35. 37mṛga-mina-sajjanānām tṛṇa-jala-samtosa-vihita-vṛttīnām/ lubdhaka-dhivara-piśunā niṣkāraṇa-vairiṇo jagati//

This verse is the same as verse 50 of Bhartrhari's Nîti-śataka.

178 Bnār. 32. 26-27he janāh kim na paśyadhvam āyuṣo 'rdham tu nidraya'/, hṛtaṃ ca bhojanādyaiś ca kiyad āyuḥ samāhṛtam// kiyad āyur bāla-bhāvād vṛddha-bhāvāt kiyaddhṛtam/ kiyad viṣaya-bhogaiś ca kadā dharmān kariṣyatha//

Compare these verses with the following verse (No. 49) of the Vairagyaśataka:

āyur varṣa-śatam nṛṇām parimitam rātrau tad-ardham gatam tasyārdhasya parasya cārdham aparam bālatva-vṛddhatvayoḥ/ etc.

179-181 See foot-note 113 above.

Mss, tallying fully with that given by the printed editions, the Brhannāradīya-p. cannot be dated later than the middle of the fifteenth century A. D. As Bhaskara (or Bhairava)182 draws upon chap. 13 of the Brhannāradīya-p. in his Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha, Mitra Miśra upon chaps. 2, 4, 11, 13, 24 and 25 in his Vīramitrodaya, Anantabhaṭṭa upon chaps. 13, 14 and 22-24 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta, Sūra Miśra upon chap. 25 in his Jagannātha-prakāśa, 183 Gopāla-bhaṭṭa upon chaps. 1-6, 11, 13, 18, 21, 23, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37 and 38 in his Haribhakti-vilāsa, Raghunandana upon chaps. 7, 14, 22 and 24 in his Smṛṭi-tattva, Gaṇapati (of Mithilā) upon chaps. 14 and 15 in his Gangā-bhakti-taranginī, Govindānanda Kavikankanācārya upon chaps. 7, 14 and 25-27 in his Varsa-kaumudī, Srāddha-kaumudī and Suddhi-kaumudī, and Śrīnāthācārya-cūdāmaņi upon chaps. 7, 14 and 24 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava, 184 and as Sūlapāṇi refers definitely to and quotes a line from chap. 16 with the mention of the title 'Brhannāradīya' in his Vrata-kāla-viveka,185 the Bṛhannāradīya-p. can by no means be placed later than 1300 A.D. It has already been said that the Brhaddharma-p., which was written in Bengal most probably in the last half of the thirteenth century A. D., 186 names both the

182 In the ASB Ms (No. 5946) of the Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha, which is the only Ms of this work hitherto discovered, the name of the author has been given as Bhairava in the second introductory verse and as Bhāskara in the final colophon. But unfortunately both the introductory verses and the final colophon were added in a later hand.

As the name 'Bhāskara' occurs in the title of the work, we have preferred it to 'Bhairava' given in the second introductory verse.

- 183 This is an extensive Smṛti work composed at Indraprastha (Delhi) in Saṃvat 1654 (= 1598 A.D.) under the patronage of Jagannātha, a scion of the Solar dynasty, who was born in Saṃvat 1603 (= 1547 A.D.).
- 184 A complete list of the quoted verses will be given in the final Volume of the present work.
- 185 See Vrata-kāla-viveka, p. 20—bṛhannāradīyokta-mārgaśīrṣādi-dvādaśa-māsīya-dvādaśīvratasya 'mārgaśīrṣe śubhe māsi dvādaśyāṃ samupoṣitaḥ' ityādi-vacanena ... /

The quoted line is much the same as Bnar. 16. 4.

186 A detailed discussion on the date and provenance of the Brhad-dharma-p, will be made in a subsequent Volume of the present work. See,

Bṛhannāradīya and the Nāradīya-p. in its list of Upapurāṇas. The Uttara-khanda (of the Bengal Siva-p.), which was composed in Bengal not later than the twelfth century A. D., 187 names a 'Nāradīya' Purāna called 'Brhannārada' and distinguishes it from the major Purāna called Nāradīya, saying:

"nāradoktam purāṇam tu nāradīyam pracakṣate/ tasmād anyan nāradīyam bṛhannārada-saṃjñakam///"188 "But the Purāṇa spoken out by Nārada (people) call Nāradīya. The Nāradīya other than that (Purāṇa) is named Brhannārada''.

Like the Brhaddharma-p., the Ekāmra-p. also names both the Bṛhannāradiya and the Nāradīya-p. in its list of Upapurāṇas; and we shall see asterwards that the Ekamra-p. was written in Orissa some time during the tenth or eleventh century A.D. 189 So, the Brhannāradīya-p. has to be dated not later than the middle of the tenth century A.D.

Here we should like to examine the mutual relation between the Bṛhannāradīya-p. and the present Nāradīya and see whether this relation renders us any help in making a nearer approach to the date of composition of the former work.

We have already seen how the present Nāradīya-p. incorporates all the chapters of the Brhannaradiya with the exception of a few verses. There is no doubt that it is the Nāradīya-p. which borrows these chapters from the Brhannaradiya. As a matter of fact, the present Nāradīya-p. is practically an Upapurāna in which there is no mention of the Brhat Kalpa and Nārada appears not as a speaker anywhere in its two Parts (called Pūrva-bhāga and Uttara-bhāga) but

however, Hazra in Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. VI, 1955, pp. 245-263.

187 A detailed analysis of the Bengal Siva-p. and a full discussion on its date will be made in Vol. III of the present work. For a preliminary study of this work see Hazra in Our Heritage, Vol. I, 1953, pp. 59-61 and 66-68.

188 Dacca University Ms No. 4233 (of the Uttara-khanda of the Siva-p.),

189 The questions relating to the date and provenance of the Ekāmra-p. chap. 23 (fol. 152a). will be discussed in Vol. III of the present work. See, however, Hazra in Poona Orientalist, XVI, 1951, pp. 70-76.

as a hearer, to whom Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanātana speak respectively in the four sections (Pāda) of the First Part (Pūrvabhāga) only. Now, the question arises as to when the Nāradīya-p. incorporated the Brhannaradiya to form the first section of its First Part. An Examination of the Smrti commentaries and Nibandhas shows that several hundreds of verses on Sraddha, Tithi-nirnaya, Gangā-māhātmya, Gangā-snāna, etc. have been quoted from the 'Nāradīya-p.' or 'Nāradiya' in Devaņabhatta's Smṛti-candrikā, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, Bhāguri's Smṛti-sāra-samuccaya (fol. 41b), Srīdatta Upādhyāya's Samaya-pradīpa (fol. 10a), Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura's Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 637) and Tithi-nirṇaya (fol. 12a), Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti, Madanapāla's Madanapārijāta (pp. 265, 507, 539), Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's Gangā-vākyāvalī, Rudradhara Upādhyāya's Varsa-kṛtya (pp. 157-158), Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's Tantrasāra (I, p. 47), Vācaspati-miśra's Tīrtha-cintāmani, Raghunandana's Smṛṭi-taṭṭva, Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa, Gadādhara's Kālasāra, Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Sūra Miśra's Jagannātha-prakāśa (fols. 74b, 78b, 79a), and many other works. Most of these quoted verses occur in the Uttara-bhaga of the present Nāradīya-p.,190 but only a very few lines191 can be traced in Pūrva-

190 For a list of these verses see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 315-317. The verses ascribed to the 'Nāradīya-p.' or 'Nāradīya'

(1) Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirṇaya, fol. 12a = Nār. I. 23. 8.

(2) Vidyāpati's
Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī,
p. 259=Nar. II. 38. 38.

(3) Gaṇapati's Gaṅgā-bhaktitaraṅgiṇī,

> fol. 5b = Nar. II. 39. 25b-26a. fol. 15b = Nar. II. 38. 34. fol. 52a = Nar. II. 38. 38.

191 Viz., two lines 'yāni kāni ca pāpāni etc.' (=Nār. I. 23. 8) quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 995, and III. ii, p. 153, Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirṇaya, fol. 12a, and Gadādhara's Kālasāra, p. 127; seven lines from 'aśvayuk-śuklanavamī etc.' (=Nār. I. 25. 52b-55) quoted in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. i, p. 255; two lines 'bālāpatyāś ca garbhiṇyaḥ etc.' (=Nār. I. 7. 52) quoted in Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (II. i, p. 59); eight lines (=Nār. I. 28. 2b, 20b, 63-64a, 67 and 69a) quoted in

bhāga, chaps. 1-41 (which, as we have already seen, are very much the same as Brhannāradīya-p., chaps. 1-38), although among these chapters there are some which deal elaborately with the said topics (viz., Śrāddha, Tithi-nirṇaya, Gaṅgā-māhātmya, Gaṅgā-snāna, etc.). It is particularly remarkable that of the numerous verses ascribed to the 'Nāradīya-p.' or 'Nāradīya' in Devaņabhaṭṭa's Smṛṭi-candrikā, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's Gangā-vākyāvalī, Gopāla-bhatta's Haribhakti-vilāsa, Ganapati's Gangā-bhakti-taranginī, and Sūra Miśra's Jagannāthaprakasa, not a single occurs in the first section (comprising chaps. 1-41) of Nāradīya-p., Pūrva-bhaga, and that, of more than a century of verses quoted by Hemādri from the same work, only nine lines (quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaņi II. i, p. 995, III. i, p. 255, and III. ii, p. 153) agree with Nāradīya-p. I. 23. 8 and I. 25. 52b-55. Similar is the case with Raghunandana, Gadadhara and several others, very few of whose quotations from the 'Nāradīya-p.' are traceable in the first section of Nāradīya-p., Pūrva-bhāga. This shows that the 'Nāradīya-p.', known to Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and many others, constitutes a part of the Uttara-bhaga of the present Nāradīya-p. and did not comprise the Bṛhannāradīya. The rare coincidences between the verses ascribed by these writers to the 'Nāradīya-p.', on the one hand, and those of chaps. 1-41 of Nāradīya-p., Pūrva-bhāga, on the other, must be explained by saying that these particular verses occurred in the original Nāradīya-p. now lost to us, and that they have been retained in the Brhannaradiya-p. but lost from the 'Nāradīya-p.' known to Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others. As a matter of fact, the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nāradīya-p. begins abruptly without introducing the interlocutors Vasistha and Mandhatr or explaining the occasion for Vasistha's narration of the Purana topics. This shows that the 'Nāradīya-p.' known to Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others has not been preserved completely in the Uttarabhāga of the present Nāradīya.

From the above discussion it is evident that the determination of

Govindānanda's Śrāddha-kaumudī, pp. 79, 83, 169 and 172; and five lines (=Nār. I. 27. 66, 30. 9b-13a, and 13. 98a) quoted in Raghunandana's Smṛtitattva, I, pp. 369 and 543, and II, p. 365.

the period of incorporation of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. into the present Nāradīya is useless for any chronological deduction with respect to the former work. We are, therefore, obliged to place the date of its composition between 750 and 900 A.D. As this work does not appear to to have any major interpolation, this date may safely be taken to be that of all its parts.

Though being a comparatively late work and having its origin in a society which saw a great spread of Buddhism and Tantricism, the Brhannāradīya-p. is entirely free from Tantric influence. It recommends the drawing of the Sarvatobhadra-mandala and its painting with various hues in certain religious rites¹⁹² but does not include the Tantric Yantra among the mediums of worship,¹⁹³ nor does it prescribe any Tantric Mantra or symbol or recognise the authority of the Tantric works.

Although we have got no correct knowledge about the provenance of the Brhannaradiya-p., there is little doubt about the fact that it was composed somewhere in Northern India. It repeatedly mentions and praises Prayaga and the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna, 194 and especially Vārāṇasī and the Siva-linga there, 195 refers, on one occasion, to the use of cars drawn by camels (ustra-yana-Bnar. 24. 26), and names the following twelve rivers as specially sacred: Godavari, Bhīmarathī, Kṛṣṇā, Revā, Sarasvatī, Tungabhadrā, Kāverī, Kālindī, Bāhudā, Vetravatī, Tāmraparņī and Satadru¹⁹⁶ (most of them belonging to Southern India). On the other hand, it is the Ekamra-p. (written in Orissa) which is the carliest work to name the Brhannaradiya-p. and to recognise it as an authoritative Upapurana. Following the Ekāmra-p., two Purāṇic works of Bengal, viz., the Uttara-khaṇḍa (of the Bengal Siva-p.) and the Brhaddharma-p., recognise the authority of the Brhannaradiya-p. without a shade of doubt. Among the Smrtiwriters it is Sūlapāṇi of Bengal who is the first to draw upon this work; and it is remarkable that the comparatively early Smrti-writers

¹⁹² See Bnar. 16. 83, and 17. 27.

¹⁹³ Viz., Pratimā, Dvija, Bhūmi, Agni, Sūrya, Citra, etc. Bnār. 31. 33.

¹⁹⁴ See Bnar. 1. 41, 6. 5, 6. 9, 6. 37, and so on.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 6. 37, 6. 48, 33. 71, 34. 54-55, and so on. 196 Ibid., 6. 32-33.

Bengal and very rarely to Mithilā, that this work came to be accepted as an authority on Dharma in other parts of Northern India much later, and that it was unknown in Southern India to a still later period. So, it seems that some person from the land about the Narmadā or Vārāṇasī migrated to the eastern part of Orissa or the western part of Bengal and wrote the Brhannāradīya-p. immediately after settling there. It is perhaps for this reason that this work refers very often to the use and gift of betel-leaves¹⁰⁷ and denounces the stealing of betelnuts (14. 43) and makes no mention of the rivers and holy places of Bengal, Orissa or Mithilā.

The Brhannaradiya-p. contains a number of interesting lines and verses including the following:

- (a) saśankah sarvadā duḥkhī niḥśankah sarvadā sukhī/ sarva-bhūta-hito dānto niḥśankah sarvadaiva hi// (4.74).
- (b) yasya mātā gṛhe nāsti bhāryā cāpriya-vādinī/ aranyam tena gantavyam yathāranyam tathā gṛham// (10.44)
- (c) yasya mātā grhe nāsti putrā dharma-parāyaṇāḥ/ sādhvī ca strī pati-prāṇā yātavyaṃ tena vai vanam// (10.48).
- (d) ātma-buddhih śubhakarī guru-buddhir viśeṣataḥ/, para-buddhir vināśāya strī-buddhih pralayaṃkarī// (1.1.93).
- (e) tyaja durjana-saṃsargaṃ bhaja sādhu-samāgamam/, kuru puṇyam ahorātraṃ smara viṣṇuṃ sanātanam//, (15.17).
- (f) na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati (31. 99).
- (g) picumardaḥ phalāḍhyo 'pi kākair eveha bhujyate (34. 13).
- (h) sujano na yāti vairam para-hita-buddhir vināśa-kale 'pi/chede 'pi candana-tarur vāsayati mukham kuthārasya/(35.34). 198

The great popularity of the verses (b) and (d) in Bengal seems to point to this province as the place of origin of the Brhannāradīya-p., which belongs to the Bhāgavatas.

197 See ibid., 13. 142 (on praise of tāmbūla-dāna), 19. 8 (on offer of tāmbūla to Viṣṇu in Haripańcaka-vrata), 24. 36 (prohibition to take tāmbūla in an impure state), 26. 3 (tāmbūla—not to be taken by one performing Srāddha), 26. 78 (offer of tāmbūla to the Brahmins fed in a Srāddha ceremony), 29. 33 (pleasure enjoyed by, a giver of tāmbūla).

198 This verse has been ascribed to Ravigupta in Sarngadhara-paddhati, p. 38 (No. 237), but quoted anonymously in Vallabhadeva's Subhasitavali, p. 38 (No. 241).

CHAPTER V

SOME LOST SAURA AND VAISNAVA UPAPURĀŅAS

For more than two thousand years the Puranas have constituted a living literature in India, being intended to guide the common people in their religious and social life in different ages and also sometimes in different localities. The political changes and religious movements, which ancient and mediaeval India experienced not infrequently, could not be expected to allow the life of the people to remain static, but great care was taken by the Brahmins to preserve as far as possible the Vedic basis of religion and society under changed circumstances. As it was not possible for these leaders of the Hindu society to ignore totally the environments and the influence of the age, they had often to make a compromise between the old and the new life, and this spirit of compromise was responsible for the total extinction of some of the Puranic works and for changes and modifications in others. Among the principal Puranas the genuine Brahma, Brahmavarivarta and Garuda-purana are still untraceable, the present Puranas of the same titles being spurious works of later dates. The loss sustained by the Upapurana literature also is not negligible, and this will be evident from the number and nature of the extinct works treated of in the following pages and in the other Volumes of the present work. Of these extinct Upapuranas, not a single is now found to exist in manuscripts or printed forms. Isolated verses or extracts from some of these Upapuranas have been preserved as quotations in the Smrti Nibandhas, but the rest are known merely by name either from the lists of Upapurānas contained in the Purānic and other works, or from the treatises on Vrata, Māhātmya, etc. which claim to be parts of these. It is, however, not quite impossible that manuscripts will be discovered some day of one or more of these Upapuranas which we now take to be extinct.

Our highly imperfect knowledge of the vast area of India and the literary activities of her people in the different ages of her history, stands seriously in the way of our preparing an exhaustive list of the

lost Upapurāṇas. So, we have been compelled to limit our treatment of these lost works only to those few Upapurāṇas which have been named, described or drawn upon in various works, especially in those of the Purāṇa and the Smṛti literature. Of these few works, again, we supply information, in the following pages, only about those which have been known to have belonged definitely to the Sauras and the Vaiṣṇavas. The former sectaries, as the Bhaviṣya-p. indicates, began their literary activity quite early, but their output was very scanty unlike that of the Vaiṣṇavas, whose numerical strength has been balanced by their zealous literary activity in all ages.

We shall now record our information about the extinct Saura and Vaisnava Upapurānas separately in two groups (A) and (B).

(A)

I. THE SAURADHARMA

This work has been mentioned in the Bhavisya-p.¹ together with the 'eighteen Purāṇas', 'the Biography of Rāma' (i.e. the Rāmāyaṇa), the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇudharma, the Sivadharma and other sacred works which are to be known by the technical term 'Jaya'. So, according to the Bhavisya-p. it was an early work dealing with the duties of the Sauras. But unfortunately its title has not been included in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us. Yet we have taken it to be an Upapurāṇa for two reasons. Firstly, it appears to have

I See Bhav. I. 4. 87b-89—
aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā//
viṣṇudharmādayo dharmāḥ śivadharmāś ca bhā ata//
kārṣṇaṃ vedaṃ pañcamaṃ tu yan mahābhārataṃ smṛṭam//
saurā dharmāś ca rājendra nāradoktā mahipate/
jayeti nāma eteṣāṃ pravadanti maniṣiṇaḥ//

(The printed ed. wrongly reads 'śrautāḥ' for 'saurāḥ' in the fourth line. Cf. Bhav. I. 216. 36-37 quoted on p. 113 above).

The above verses, as quoted in Lakṣmidhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru (I, p. 25), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (II. i, pp. 19-20), Caṇḍeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 30), Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 71), Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, p. 22), and Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-Nityācāra-pradīpa (I, p. 22), and siṣnudharmādi śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca prakāśa (p. 17), read the second line as 'viṣṇudharmādi śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata' and the fourth line as 'saurāś ca dharmā rājendra mānavoktā mahīpate,'

had the form and contents of a Purāṇic work; and secondly, the Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara, Sivadharma and Sivadharmottara have been regarded as minor Purāṇas by various authorities.

The Sauradharma has been drawn upon in Ananta-bhatta's Vidhāna-pārijāta (II, p. 696), Gadādhara's Kālasāra (p. 129), Gopālabhatta's Haribhakti-vilāsa (p. 773), Gaṇapati's Gaṇgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī (fols. 30b and 31a-b), Raghunandada's Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 142, and II, pp. 41 and 48), Srīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (fols. 77b-78a), Vācaspati-miśra's Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi (p. 2), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (II. i, p. 1000, II. ii, pp. 552-7, and III. ii, pp. 114, 150, 179), Sūlapāṇi's Vrata-kāla-viveka (p. 18), and in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa (fol. 39a). So, this work cannot be dated later than 1000 A.D. We shall see below that the Sauradharmottara, which must have been written later than the Sauradharma must have been written earlier than 800 A.D.

We cannot push the above date farther up, because we are not sure that the Sauradharma, drawn upon by the Smṛti-writers, was the same as the 'Saura Dharma' mentioned in Bhav. I.4.89 and I. 216. 37. Some of the verses, ascribed to the Sauradharma in the Smṛti Nibandhas, show that in this work, as known to the Smṛti-writers, Vasiṣṭha spoke to king Māndhātṛ at least in some of its parts, but according to the Bhaviṣya-p. Nārada (or Mānava) spoke out the 'Saura Dharmas' or 'the (religious) duties of the Sun-worshippers'.2

As the Viṣṇudharma and the Sivadharma, mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p., belonged to the Vaiṣṇavas and the Saivas respectively, there can be little doubt about the fact that the 'Saura Dharma', known to the Bhaviṣya, must have dealt principally, if not entirely, with the duties of the Sun-worshippers. From the evidence of the quoted verses also we understand that the Sauradharma, as known to the Smṛti-writers, was a work of the Sauras and that at least in some parts of this work Sūta reported what he had heard from Vyāsa on the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and Māndhātṛ. Most of these quoted

² For the relevant verses of the Bhavisya-p, see the immediately preceding foot-note and also p. 113 above.

verses relate to fasting on the Ekādaśī Tithi, two to the religious duties in the month of Māgha (māgha-kṛtyāni), and one to the eatables in the Kamya-vrata; and there is one long extract, quotedin Caturvarga-cintamani, II. ii, pp. 552-7, which deals with the Sūrya-vrata to be performed every month from Mārgaśīrṣa by placing a golden image of the Sun in a silver chariot. In the verses ascribed to the Sauradharma in the Vidhana-parijata and the Caturvargacintamani there is mention of the Tulasi plant, of whic's three leaves are to be eaten up by the persons observing the Kamya-vrata and the Sūrya-varta every month from Mārgaśīrşa.

2. THE SAURADHARMOTTARA

This work also, like the Sauradharma mentioned above, should be regarded as an Upapurāṇa, although no writer has called it so. It has been drawn upon in Gopāla-bhatta's Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 776, 808), Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva (II, p. 50), Caṇdeśvara's Tithi-nirṇaya (fols. 12a, 13a, 13b), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmani (III. ii, p. 249) and Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka (pp. 432-3, 443, 444, 447). So, it must have been written not later than 900 A. D.

The Sauradharmottara does not seem to have been rich in Smrti materials. Only a few verses have been quoted from it in the Smrti works, and all these verses relate to Ekādaśī-upavāsa.

3. THE SŪRYA-PURĀŅA

his Tithi-nirnaya (fol. 2a) Candeśvara quotes a verse (saṃkrāntyām ravi-vāre ca tathā cendu-parikṣaye, etc.), which he ascribes to the 'Sūrya-purāṇa'; Weber describes a Ms of the 'Kṛṣṇapañcamī-śrāddha-vidhi' which claims to belong to the 'Sūrya-purāṇa's; and in the Berlin Ms of the Bhavisyottara there is a chapter on Putrakāma-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata which, in its colophon, names the 'Sūryapurāna' as its source. As neither the said verse quoted by Candesvara nor the chapters on Kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-śrāddha-vidhi and Putra-kāma-

4 Ibid., No. 468, p. 135 (see the colophon of chap. 50).

See Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, No. 1127, p. 325 (colophon-iti sūrya-purāņe kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-śrāddha-vidhiḥ samāptaḥ).

kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata occur in the present Sāmba-p. and as no other writer is found to refer to or draw upon the Sāmba-p. under the title 'Sūrya-p.', there is little scope for doubt that the Sūrya-p. was a distinct work. Its title as well as its mention in the Bhaviṣya-p. as the source of the said chapter on Putra-kāma-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata shows that the Sūrya p. belonged to the Sauras and was an early work. But unfortunately none of its Mss has come down to us.

According to D. R. Bhandarkar, a Sūrya-p. quite distinct from the Bhaviṣya-p. is known to the Brahmins, called Sevaks, living round about Jodhpur.⁵ As no Ms of this work is known to have been discovered as yet, we are in complete darkness about its nature and contents. The fact that the Sevaks, who call themselves Sākadvīpa Brāhmaṇas, 'know that their story is told in the Nāmagrantha of the Sūrya-purāṇa and also in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa', shows clearly that this Sūrya-p. was a Saura work. It may be mentioned in this connection that in his Tithi-nirṇaya Caṇḍeśvara quotes a few verses by expressly naming the Bhaviṣya-p. as their source and that the verse of the 'Sūrya-p'. quoted in Caṇḍeśvara's Tithi-nirṇaya occurs neither in the present Bhaviṣya-p. nor in the Bhaviṣyottara.

(B)

1. THE ADI-PURANA

This work, which was also called Adya-purāṇa, Sanatkumāra, Sānatkumāra, Sanatkumārīya, Sanatkumārokta and Sanatkumāra-prokta, was quite distinct from the present Ādi-p. published from Calcutta (with a Bengali translation) by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā in 1891 and from Bombay by the Venkaṭeśvara Press in Saka 1829 and preserved in Mss in all parts of India. It occupied a very exalted position among the Upapurāṇas and was a Vaiṣṇava work composed between 500 and 700 A.D. and probably during the sixth century.

For full information about this work see under 'Adi-p.' in Chap. IV above.

⁵ See p. 100 above. Also Ep. Ind., IX, p. 279.

2. THE ANGIRASA-UPAPURĀNA

The title of this work is found included in none of the lists of eighteen Upapuranas except that given in the Ekamra-p.,6 nor does any comparatively early Smrti-writer, except Gopala-bhatta, draw upon or refer to it in his work. The only verse, which Gopala-bhatta quotes from it in his Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 677, says that if, being afraid of rebirths, any one pronounces the name 'Vasudeva', he is sure to become free from these and attain the region of Visnu.

The title of this work and the quoted verse mentioned above indicate that this Upapurana was narrated by the sage Angiras and that it dealt primarily with the praise of Visnu-Vasudeva.

Gopāla-bhatta's quotation from this Upapurāna and the mention of its title in the Ekamra-p.8 (which is drawn upon by Gadadhara in his Kālasāra and mentioned in the Uttara-khanda of the Bengal Siva-p.9) show that it was written earlier than 1000A.D., most probably in Western Bengal or Orissa. But as it is not mentioned in any other list of eighteen Upapuranas, and as none of the comparatively early Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it must have been composed at a date not much earlier than 900A.D.

3. THE BRHAD-VAMANA-PURANA

A 'Vāmana' Upapurāņa is mentioned in some of the lists of Upapuranas, but there is not a single list which mentions the Brhadvāmana-purāṇa. None of the comparatively early authors is found to draw upon or refer to this work. It is only in the Laghu-bhagavatamṛta that six verses have been ascribed to the 'Bṛhad-vāmana'. In the first of these quoted verses Kṛṣṇa refers to his indescribable mental

6 For this list see Chap, I (p. 13) above.

vāsudeveti manuja uccārya bhava-bhititaḥ/ tanmuktah padam āpnoti viṣṇor eva na saṃśayaḥ// 7

8.9 The periods of composition of these works will be discussed fully in Vol. III of the present work.

condition at the remembrance of his Rāsa-līlā¹⁰, and in the remaining five, Brahmā speaks to 'Bhṛgu and others' on the glory of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, for the dusts of whose feet Brahmā practised austerities for sixty thousand years.¹¹ From these quoted verses we understand that this Upapurāṇa was a Vaiṣṇava work and dealt primarily with the sports of the cowherd Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.

As the present Vāmana-p. does not contain any of these quoted verses or deal with any topic connected with the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, it cannot be the same as the Bṛhad-vāmana. The Vāmana-upapurāṇa also, if there were any Upapurāṇa of this title, must have been different from the Bṛhad-vāmana. The latter, as evidenced by its non-mention in any comparatively early work, must have been written at a late date.

4. THE BRHAD-VISNUDHARMA

This work has not been mentioned in any of the lists known to us, but about eight verses have been quoted from it in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, p. 460. As in his Kālaviveka Jīmūtavāhana has drawn upon the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta also, the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma must be a separate work. It must have been based

- 10 Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p. 173 (I, No. 531)—
 śrī-bṛhad-vāmane—
 santi yady api me prājyā līlās tās tā manoharāh/
 na hi jāne smṛte rāse mano me kīdṛśaṃ bhavet//
- Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p. 182 (II, Nos. 31-32)—
 śribṛhadvāmane ca bhṛgvādin prati śribrahma vākyam—
 ṣaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi mayā taptaṃ tapaḥ purā/
 nanda-gopa-vraja-striṇāṃ pāda-reṇūpalabdhaye//
 tathāpi na mayā prāptās tāsāṃ vai pāda-reṇavaḥ//
 bhṛgvādi-vākyam—
 vaiṣṇavānāṃ pāda-rajo gṛhyate tvad-vidhair api/

santi te bahavo loke vaisnavā nāradādayali//
tesām vihāya gopînām pāda-reņus tvayāpi yat/,
grhyate samsayo me 'tra ko hetus tad vada prabho//,
śribrahma-vākyam—

na striyo vraja-sundaryah putra śresthāh śriyo 'pi tāh/, nāham śivaś ca śesaś ca śriś ca tābhih samāh kvacit//,

on the Visnudharmottara, because the verses, quoted from it in the Kālaviveka, agree with Visnudharmottara I. 161. 1-8 and have Mārkandeya and a king (Vajra?) as the interlocutors.

Jīmūtavāhana's quotations from the Brhad-visnudharma show that it must have been written not later than 900 A.D. As it was based on the Visnudharmottara, it cannot be dated earlier than 600A.D.

THE BRHAD-VISNU-PURANA

This work is mentioned as 'Brhad-vaisnava' in the list of Upapurānas given in the Ekāmra-p.12 and is drawn upon under the title 'Brhad-visnu-purana' in the Caturvarga-cintamani (III. i, pp. 704, 711, 726-7), Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 449, 495, 658, 661, 685), (Gopālabhatta's) Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā (pp. 45, 46, 98, 108), (Sanātana Gosvāmin's commentaries) Brhat-toṣiṇī and Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī12a (on Bhāg. X. 21. 10), (Sanātana-Gosvāmin's) Laghubhāgavatāmṛta (p. 147-I, No. 397, and pp. 163-4-I, No. 471), and (Ratnakara Miśra's) Prāyaścitta-sāra-saṃgraha¹³. In the Laghubhāgavatāmṛta this Upapurāņa is also named as 'Brhad-vaiṣṇava'.

Hemādri's knowledge of the Brhad-visnu-p. shows that this work must have been written not later than 1000 A.D. We do not know whether this Brhad-visnu-p. was the same as the spurious 'Vaisnava Purāna' known to Vallālasena.14 This 'Vaisnava Purāna' contained 23000 verses and was, therefore, an extensive (brhat) work.

The Brhad-visnu-p. was undoubtedly a Vaisnava work dealing with

For this list see Chap. I (p, 13) above.

12a. Ascribed to Jīva Gosvāmin in Nityasvarūpa Brahmacārin's edition of the Bhagavarata-p.

13 Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 579, No. 2530 (Ms No. 8520). The Ms is dated 1661 Saka.

14 Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verses 63-66) tārkṣyam purāṇam aparam brāhmam āgneyam eva ca/ trayovimśati-sāhasram purāņam api vaisņavam// ṣaṭ-sah asra-mitam lingam purānam aparam tathā/, dikṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍayukti-ratnaparikṣaṇaiḥ// mṛṣā-vaṃśānucaritaiḥ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ/ asangata-kathabandha-paraspara-virodhatah //. tan-mīnaketanādīnām bhaņḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-liṅginām/ loka-vañcanam ālokya sarvam evāvadhiritam//,

the praise and worship of Viṣṇu. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa Gopāla-bhaṭṭa quotes from this work seven verses which say that the water, which is placed before the eyes of Keśava and is mixed with Tulasī leaves, or with which the Sālagrāma stone has been bathed, is extremely sanctifying, that no twice-born man should hesitate to partake of the food and drink offered to Viṣṇu, because such food and drink are never affected by anybody's touch, that the mention of Viṣṇu's name is highly sanctifying and beneficial and is able to destroy much more sin than a sinner can commit, and that the muttering of the word 'vāsudeva' can give one final emancipation. In the Laghubhāgavatāmṛta Viṣṇu is called 'nityāvatāra', 'nitya-mūrti', 'nitya-rūpa', 'nityaiśvarya-sukhānubhū' etc. and Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Vraja are said

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15 Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 449—
bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇc—
'tiɪthādhikaṃ yajña-śatāc ca pāvanaṃ
jalaṃ sadā keśava-dṛṣṭi-saṃsthitam/
chinatti pāpaṃ tulasī-vimiśritam
viśeṣataś cakra-śilā-vinirmitam//
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16 Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 495 brhad-viṣṇu-purāṇe—

'naivedyam jagadīśasya anna-pānādikam ca yat/bhakṣyābhakṣya-vicāraś ca nāsti tad-bhakṣaṇe dvijāḥ//, brahmavan nirvikāram hi yathā viṣṇus tathaiva tat/, vikāram ye prakurvanti bhakṣaṇe tad dvijātayaḥ//kuṣṭha-vyādni-samāyuktāḥ putra-dāra-vivarjitāḥ/, nirayam yānti te viprā yasmān nāvartate punaḥ//

17 Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 661-

sarva-rogopaśamanam sarvopadrava-nāśanam/ śāntidam sarva-riṣṭāṇām harer nāmānukīrtanam//, Ibid., p. 658—

nāmno 'sya yāvatī śaktiḥ pāpa-nirharaņe hareḥ/tāvat kartum na śaknoti pātakam pātakī janaḥ//,

With this second verse the following Bengali saying may be compared:

एकवार रामनामे यत पाप हरे। जीवेर कि साध्य आछे तत पाप करे।।

¹⁸ Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 685— ... kva japo vāsudeveti mukti-bījam anuttamam.

to have been described elaborately in the Brhad-vișnu-purana.19 According to the verse²⁰ quoted from the 'Brhad-visnu-purāṇa' in Sanātana Gosvāmin's commentaries Brhat-tosiņī and Vaisņava-tosiņī (on Bhag. X. 21. 10), Nanda's wife had two names, Yasoda and Devaki, and it was for this reason that she had friendship with Devaki, wife of Sauri (Vasudeva). That the Brhad-viṣṇu-p. dealt also with penance, funeral ceremony etc., is evidenced by its verses quoted in the Prayaścitta-sāra-samgraha and the Caturvarga-cintāmani. Of these two works the latter has 30 metrical lines on gifts of umbrellas, chowries, mirrors, combs, young cows with calves, female buffaloes, bulls, camels, goats, sheep etc. to the departed forefathers, the recipients of all these gifts being the Brahmins.21 In the Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā (pp. 45, 46, 98, 108) five verses have been ascribed to the 'Brhad-visnu-purana'. In one of these verses the Satvatas have been advised neither to worship the Pitrs and the gods other than Visnu nor to do any other kāmya karman; 22 one verse prescribes the worship of the gods and Pitrs to those persons who are not Satvatas; in one verse the sanctifying power of the Candrayana-vrata and the Dvadasa-varşika-vrata has been put forth; and in the remaining two, Visnu has been described as the cause of all kinds of bliss. It is to be noted that in the verse ascribed to the 'Brhad-viṣṇu-p.' in Satkriyā-sāra-dīpikā, p. 46, the word 'rajendra' has been used in the Vocative Case and that in explaining this verse Gopāla-bhatta takes this word to mean 'Yudhisthira'. So, in the Brhad-visnu-p. somebody spoke to Yudhisthira on the topics mentioned above.

In his Notices of Sanskrit Mss, II, pp. 68-69 (No. 635) R. L. Mitra describes a Ms of the Karma-vipāka which, in its colophon,

dve nāmnī nanda-bhāryāyā yaśodā devakīty api/ ataḥ sakhyam abhūt tasyā devakyā śauri-bhāryayā//

Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, III. i, pp. 704, 711, 726-7.

¹⁹ Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p.147 (I, No. 397), and pp. 163-164 (I, No. 471śribrhad vaisnave—vraje dvāravatīsthasya prādurbhāvo mura-dvisah/ brhadvisņupurāṇādāv asakṛd bahudhocyate//).

Satkriyā-sāra-dipikā, p. 45na darbha-dhāraṇaṃ kuryāt na ca saṃkalpam ācaret/ na kāmyam sātvato mārgam sambhu-devādi-pūjanam//

claims to be an extract from the Bhṛgu-saṃhitā belonging to the Bṛhadvisnu-p. The date of this Ms is 1687 Saka (= 1765 A. D.), and in it Bhrgu speaks to Bharata, son of Sakuntala, on the diseases and other evils resulting in this life from sins committed in a previous one, as well as on the expatiations meet for their removal.

6. THE BRHANNARASIMHA-PURĀNA

We have said above23 that the Ekamra-p. clearly distinguishes between the 'Nārasimha' and the 'Brhannārasimha' by including the former among the principal Puranas and the latter among the Upapurāņas. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa Gopālabhatta is found to ascribe about a century of verses to the Narasimha-p. and 63 verses (on Narasimha-caturdaśī-vrata) to the Brhannarasimha-p. So, according to Gopāla-bhatta also, the Brhannarasimha-p. was distinct from the Narasimha-p. But as the 63 verses, quoted by Gopālabhaṭṭa from the 'Brhannarasimha-p.', have been ascribed to the 'Narasimha-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II. ii, pp. 41-49, it is probable that either Hemādri took these two Purānic works to be identical, or the extract on the Narasimha-caturdasī-vrata occurred in both these works. It should be mentioned here that none of the 63 verses, mentioned above, is found in the present text of the Narasimha-p.

As the Brhannarasimha-p. is mentioned in the Ekamra-p., it must be dated earlier than the eleventh century A.D.

7. THE DAURVĀSASA-UPAPURĀNA (alias ĀSCARYA-UPAPURĀNA?)

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapuranas except those contained in the Ekamra-p. and the Brhaddharma-p.24 In some of these lists it is named as 'Durvasasokta'; the Saura-samhita of the Skanda-p. calls it 'Durvāsah-samprokta'; and Narasimha Vājapeyin names it as 'Durvāsaḥ-purāṇa'. In the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Kūrma-p., Garuḍa-p., and Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa) as well as in those lists which are ascribed to the Kūrma-p. in the Malamāsa-tattva, Vīramitrodaya, Caturvarga-cintāmaņi and Sabdakalpadruma, this Upapurāņa is described as 'durvāsasoktam āścaryam.'

²³ See Chap. III (under Narasimha-p.) above.

For these lists see Chap. I above,

We are not sure whether the word 'āścarya' is the title of the Upapurana 'narrated by Durvasas', or it is merely an adjective denoting the nature of this Upapurāna. Rādhāramana Gosvāmi-bhattācārya, in his commentary on the Malamasa-tattva, takes the word 'ascarya' to be the title of the Upapurana 'narrated by Durvasas'.25

According to the Reva-khanda (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revamāhātmya the 'Daurvāsasa' Upapurāņa belonged to the 'Bhāgavata' Purāna.26 So, this Upapurāna must have been a work of the Vaisnavas.

The mention of this Upapurana in all the comparatively early lists of Upapuranas shows that it must have been written before 800 A.D. and that it attained great popularity at an early date. As no Ms of this Upapurana or of any tract on Vrata, Mahatmya etc. claiming to belong to it, has been discovered as yet, and as none of the commentators and Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it is not possible to say anything about its contents. It seems that this work became extinct even before the tenth century A, D.

8. THE KAUSIKA- (OR KAUSIKĪ-) PURĀŅA

This work has been mentioned in Bhavananda's Hari-vamsa27, a popular work composed in Bengali verses in the district of Sylhet or Tipperah some time between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. According to Bhavananda, the Kausika-p. (also called Kausiki-p. in some of the Mss of the Hari-vamsa)28 contained the following story.29

When descending to the earth with the purpose of relieving her of her burden, god Nārāyaṇa asked Garuḍa which form he would assume to accompany him to the land of mortals. Garuda was not willing to change his form during such a dangerous period. So, he assured

²⁵ Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Caṇḍicaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—āścaryam

daurvāsasam pancamam ca smṛtam bhāgavate sadā,—Skanda-p, V. iii āścaryākhyam. (Revā-kh.). 1. 49b, and Revā-māhātmya (as described by Aufrecht in his Bod. Cat., p. 65).

²⁷ See Hari-vaṃśa, p. 186 (line 7966) and p. 187 (line 7992).

²⁸ Ibid., p. 187, foot-note 15.

Ibid., pp. 184-187 (lines 7901-7992). 29

Nārāyaṇa that he would present himself to serve as a mount as soon as Nārāyaṇa would remember him in times of his need. But Nārāyaṇa did not like to remain separated from Garuḍa for a long time. He said to Garuḍa:

"Hear, Oh eater of snakes, hear now the wish of my heart. When I shall be passing some time at Gokula as a child, a part of yours will remain with me. You will be born as a cuckoo, [and] I shall constantly hear [your] high, sweet note. When, after my killing of Kamsa by going to Mathurā, king Jarāsandha will challenge me to war, I shall remember you on that very day. As you do not agree to accompany me by forsaking this body [of yours], the cuckoo will give up its life without finding me, and all its energy and strength will pass into you".

Now, Nārāyaṇa was born on earth as Kṛṣṇa, and a part of Garuḍa became a cuckoo. In course of time, when Kṛṣṇa was away in Mathurā and Rādhā was pining for him, the cuckoo, being unable to bear his separation, searched for him in all possible places and at last went to Rādhā's house with the hope of finding him there. But dire disappointment was in store for the cuckoo. It gave up its life as a result of the rude shock, and its soul passed to Vaikuntha and enterd the body of Garuḍa.

From the mention of Rādhā in the above story as given by Bhavānanda it appears that the Kauṣika- (or Kauṣikī-) purāṇa, known to him, was a Vaiṣṇava work written at a comparatively late period. The total absence of any mention of this Purāṇa in any work other than Bhavānanda's Hari-vaṃśa shows that it was a work of local origin and highly limited recognition.

9. THE LAGHU-BHĀGAYATA-PURĀŅA

It is only the Ekāmra-p. which includes the name of this work in its list of Upapurāṇas. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 657, 660, 667, 685) Gopāla-bhaṭṭa quotes from this work sīx verses on the praise of pronouncing the name of Govinda (or Hari). So, this work must have been written in Western Bengal or Orissa not later than 1000 A.D. but most probably not before 800 A.D. Its title as well as the quoted verses shows that it was a work of the Vaiṣṇavas. In

the verse from it in Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 685 the word 'nṛpa' has been used in the Vocative Case. So, in this Upapurāṇa somebody, whose name is unknown to us, spoke to a king (whose name also we do not know) on the benefits of pronouncing the name of Hari.

10. THE MAGHA-PURANA

A Purāṇic work of this name has been mentioned in the colophon of a Ms of the Bāla-gopāla-stuti ascribed to 'Śrī-paramahaṃsa-parivrājaka-śrīpāda-Bilvamaṅgala'. The words 'iti māgha-purāṇe bhagavad-vākyam', used in this colophon, tend to indicate that the Māgha-p. had the Bhagavat (Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) as one of its speakers. As we have not yet met with any second mention of this Purāṇa anywhere, we are in complete darkness about its nature and contents and do not know whether it was the same as the "Māgha-smṛtı" mentioned by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary on the Bhāgavata-p. It is, however, sure that this Magha-p. is not the same as the Māgha-māhātmya belonging to the Padma-p., Uttara-khaṇḍa.

11. THE PRABHĀSA-PURĀŅA

This Upapurāṇa is mentioned as 'Prabhāsaka' in the list of Upapurāṇas contained in the Ekāmra-p,; and from this work Sanātana Gosvāmin quotes one metrical line on the praise of the name of Kṛṣṇa in his commentary Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī, 31 and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa has a complete verse on the same topic in his Haribhakti-vilāsa. 32 So, this Prabhāsa-p. must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D. Its non-mention in the other lists shows that it was a comparatively late work.

From the title of this Upapurāņa as well as from Sanātana Gosvāmin

- 30 For information about this Ms see O. C. Ganguly in Malaviya Commemoration Volume, 1932, pp. 285-9.
 - 31 See Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇi on Bhāg. X. 8, 13—
 uktaṃ ca prabhāsa-purāṇe—
 madhura-madhuram etan maṅgalaṃ maṅgalānām//
 - 32 Haribhakti vilāsa, p. 689—
 prabhāsa-purāņe nārada-kuśadhvaja-saṃvāde śrībhagavad-uktau—
 nāmnāṃ mukhyataraṃ nāma kṛṣṇākhyaṃ me paraṃtapa/
 prāyaścittam aśeṣāṇāṃ pāpānāṃ mocakaṃ param//,

and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's quotations from this work we understand that it was a Vaiṣṇava work dealing with the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that in it Nārada narrated to (king) Kuśadhvaja what he had heard from Kṛṣṇa. Beyond this we have got no further information about this Upapurāṇa.

The Prabhāsa-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p. In the latter work, the lines, ascribed by Sanātana Gosvāmin and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa to the 'Prabhāsa-purāṇa', are not found, nor is there any interlocution between Nārada and Kuśadhvaja.

12. THE VISNUDHARMOTTARAMRTA

The name of this work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us, nor is it referred to or drawn upon in any work except Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka, which has two verses³³ from it on p. 464. The absence of these two quoted verses in the Viṣṇudharmottara, shows that the Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta was a separate work; but its title indicates that it was based on the Viṣṇudharmottara,

The Visnudharmottaramṛta must have been written later than the Visnudharmottara but a few centuries earlier than Jīmūtavāhana. Hence it is to be dated between 600 and 900 A. D.

13. THE VRDDHA-PADMA-PURĀŅA

This work has been mentioned as 'Vṛddha-pādma' in Śrī-anantā-cārya's Prapannāmṛta.³⁴ According to Śrī-anantācārya, this 'Vṛddha-pādma' contained stories about Rāmānuja and the Alwar saints of Southern Indian. So, it seems to have been a late work. It is neither mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas nor referred to or drawn upon by any of the Smṛti-writers, early or late.

33 These two verses are the following:
dvādaśi sravaṇā-yuktā spṛśed ekādaśiṃ yadi/
sa eva vaiṣṇavo yogo viṣṇu-śṛṅkhala-saṃjñitaḥ//
tasminn upoṣya vidhivan naraḥ saṃkirṇa-kalmaṣaḥ/
prāpnoty anuttamām ṛddhiṃ punar-āvṛtti-durlabham//

34 Prapannāmṛta (Venkaṭ. ed.), chap. 73, verses 24-29, and chap. 75,

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